FILE DESCRIPTION
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 47

SERIALS 2641

thru

2680

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

709 PM URGENT 4-21-69 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) (ATTN: DIVISIONS FIVE & SIX) AND

LAS VEGAS

FROM CHICAGO (160-NEW) (100-40903) 2P

B7C

ALLEGATION OF B AND O TRAIN DERAILMENT BY STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), FEDERAL TRAIN WRECK STATUTE.

SDS; IS-SDS.

ON APRIL TWENTY ONE INSTANT, [redacted] B7D [redacted] REPORTED OVERHEARING CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOME "HIPPIES AND GREASERS" ON SUNDAY, APRIL TWENTY, LAST, TO THE EFFECT THAT SDS WAS PLANNING TO DERAIL A B AND O FORTY CAR TRAIN, WHICH CONTAINED SIX CARS OF ARMS FOR VIET NAM. THE TRAIN WAS REPORTEDLY IN THE B AND O YARDS IN CHICAGO AND WAS ENROUTE CALIFORNIA VIA NEVADA AND ORIGINATED IN OHIO. SDS REPORTEDLY PLANS TO DERAIL THE TRAIN AFTER IT LEAVES CHICAGO OR AT SOME POINT IN NEVADA. [redacted] B7D [redacted] INFORMANT HAD NO FURTHER INFORMATION.

[redacted], B & O PD ADVISED APRIL TWENTY ONE, B7C INSTANT, THAT THE EXISTENCE OF ABOVE MENTIONED TRAIN IS UNKNOWN TO B & O AND HE HAS INSTITUTED CHECKS IN DAYTON, OHIO

END PAGE ONE

PAGE TWO

AND ELSEWHERE TO VERIFY THE EXISTENCE OF THE CARS LOADED WITH ARMS. HE ADVISED THAT NORMALLY THE SHIPMENT OF THIS NATURE WOULD BE KNOWN TO THEM, BUT HIS OFFICE HAS NO REPORTS OF SUCH A SHIPMENT.

CONSTANT TOUCH WILL BE MAINTAINED WITH B & O AND CG PD.

[redacted] B1

EFFORTS WILL BE CONTINUED TO VERIFY THE TRUTH OF THIS ALLEGATION AND THE BUREAU WILL BE NOTIFIED ACCORDINGLY.

LAS VEGAS - ADVISE AUTHORITIES AND CONTACT LOGICAL SOURCES FOR ANY INFO THIS MATTER.

END

ERT

FBI WASH DC

P

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/21/69

Transmit the following in ______ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2423) (P)
(100-44715) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
RM - STAG
(OO: CHICAGO);

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS
(OO: CHICAGO)

Remytels dated 4/18, and 4/20/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and entitled as above.

Copies of said LHM are being furnished to the USA, U.S. Secret Service, and NISO, all Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Source mentioned in LHM is [redacted] B7D

Chicago following activities at NU and will keep Bureau advised.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)
3 - Chicago
(1 - 157-413)
WJB/rmk
(5)

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED
APR 23 1969
MAY 5 1969

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIU, RAO, CD
HOW FORW:
DATE FORW:
BY:
Room 836 9 & D

Approved: ______ Sent ______ M Per ______
Special Agent in Charge

MAY 13 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois 60604
April 21, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2423
100-44715

RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS;

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated April 18, 1969.

On April 18, 1969, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that 21 black students and 21 members of SDS conducted a hunger strike at NU throughout the day. Each group set up separate camps in front of the Rebecca Crown Center.

The strike is being conducted by the black students in protest of administrative action taken by the University against students who admitted participation in a raid on the Triangle Fraternity House on March 4, 1969, which resulted in property damage and injuries to white fraternity members. The SDS students are participating in the strike in sympathy with the black students.

Said source advised that disagreements have arisen between the white and black factions, with both seeking publicity. The strike was expected to continue throughout the weekend.

A Description of SDS is attached to this memorandum.

ENCLOSURE

100 - 404[illegible]

RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS;

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU)
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS)

On April 20, 1969, [redacted] Evanston, Illinois, Police Department, advised that the strike continued throughout April 19, and April 20, 1969. On the latter date a group of approximately 200 adults and students gathered at 2 p.m., and listened to speeches by participants until approximately 4:30 p.m. when this group dispersed without incident. b7C

Four of the protesters, three black and one white, have been taken to the Evanston Hospital by the Police Department suffering from malnutrition. The balance of the protesters continued the strike.

No violence or incidents have arisen during the strike and no arrests have been made.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to the United States Attorney, United States Secret Service, and the Naval Investigative Service Office, all Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group, Evanston, Illinois.

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 4/16/69

FROM : CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS

The April 4, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes", a publication of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), contains the following information on page nine concerning new chapters which were recognized at the National Council (NC) meeting of SDS held in Austin, Texas, on March 27 through 31, 1969, and also reflects the identity of those SDS chapters which pledged money at this NC meeting.

The following is for the information of each office receiving a copy of this communication, inasmuch as the new chapter so designated may not have heretofore been brought to the attention of the designated offices:

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Albuquerque (RM)
2 - Baltimore (RM)
2 - Boston (RM)
2 - Cleveland (RM)
2 - Dallas (RM)
2 - Denver (RM)
2 - Detroit (RM)
2 - Houston (RM)
2 - Indianapolis (RM)
2 - Jacksonville (RM)
2 - Milwaukee (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
2 - Omaha (RM)
2 - Portland (RM)
2 - San Antonio (RM)
2 - San Diego (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - WFO (RM)
3 - Chicago
(1 - 100-new) (P.T.P. LOCAL #1)
(1 - 100-) (University of Chicago SDS)

RRG:cmm
(41)

REC 25 -2642

APR 21 1969

APR 28 1969

INT. SEC.

"New chapters recognized by the Austin National Council:

East Lansing High School
John Reed Memorial (at large), Portland
Metropolitan State College, Denver
Colorado University Denver Center
John Brown Memorial, Colorado Springs
Wasson High School, Colorado Springs
Boulder MDS
Bill Haywood Memorial
(Colorado Regional Staff)
Steven Austin High School, Austin
John Paul Jones, 'We Have Not Yet
Begun to Fight,' Santa Barbara
Grand Valley State, Allendale, Michigan
Merritt College, Oakland
Florida State University, Tallahassee
Desolation Row Positively
4th Street, New York City
P.T.P. Local #1, Chicago
Washington College, Chesterton
West Texas SDS
Las Vegas/New Mexico SDS,
University of New Mexico
University of Detroit SDS
Teachers for a Democratic Society,
New York City

"The following are pledges made at the Austin NC. Chapters are reminded that more than $2,000 was pledged at the Ann Arbor NC--of that amount, only $150 was ever sent to the National Office. Only several hundred dollars were raised at the NC, and the NO desperately needs money to continue its operation. We owe the New Left Notes printer alone more than $2,000. You all have a responsibility to keep the NO functioning--send us money now.

Kent State $25
NYU $100
American University $25
Wagner $75
Muskegan Jr. $25

U. of Maryland $100
Madison SDS $25
Lakeview $25
Washington (state of) region $25
Ohio State $25
John Paul Jones $25
Boulder $50
East Bay $50
Boston U. $35
Joe Hill $15
Baltimore $50
U. of Nebraska (Lincoln & Omaha) $50
U. of Chicago $100
Cambridge MDS $30
REP $20
Columbia $100
New York Region $100
Harvard $100 (38¢ per national member)
Houston $25
Wellesley $10"

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/18/69

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS

Remyairtels 4/3, 4/7/69 captioned SDS, NIC, NC MEETINGS -31/69, AUSTIN, TEXAS. IS-SDS.

B1

3 - Bureau (RM)
1-100-437041 (PLP)
5 - San Francisco (RM)
1-100-52152 (SDS)
[redacted] B7C
1-100- (REVOLUTIONARY UNION)
5 - Chicago
[redacted] B7D
1-100-41353 (AHC)
[redacted] B7C

2 - Seattle (RM)
1-100- (SDS)
[redacted] B7C

RRG:meb
(15)

REC 25

NOT RECORDED
2 APR 21 1969

Approved: Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

CONFIDENTIAL

Pg 2 Para 4; Page 3 Para 2

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

12/6

VIA TELETYPE

ENCIPHERED

WA--01--140 AM RSH

DEFERRED 4-18-69 RSH

TO DIRECTOR --CODED--

FROM CHICAGO (100-44715)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NORTHWESTERN STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) IS-SDS

OO; CHICAGO.

SOURCE, RELIABLE ADVISED APRIL SEVENTEEN LAST SDS MEETING AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY TOOK PLACE FROM EIGHT TO TEN PM THAT DATE WITH FRED HAMPTON, CHICAGO BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBER A SPEAKER.

MEETING TOOK PLACE WITHOUT INCIDENT.

NAVAL R.O.T.C. MEETING AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU) TOOK PLACE AS SCHEDULED.

NO DISORDERS BETWEEN GROUPS. NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS.

NU CAMPUS CALM.

USA, MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

REMYTELS APRIL SIXTEEN - SEVENTEEN LAST.

SOURCE IS TED ARNDT, DIRECTOR OF SECURITY, NU. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

RM FBI WASH DC

To White House, AG, Secret Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI, OSI, DIA, by tel 4-18-69.

REC 104

100-439048-2644

12 APR 21 1969

CC's to DAG; AAG; ______, ______, ______, NIS, IDIU, ~~Vice President~~

MR. WELLS, DD
ROOM 902 9&D

April 18, 1969

REC-91

1 - 4 - 18 9/11

[redacted] B7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of April 12th, with enclosure, and was pleased to learn you have read my latest book. I would also like to thank you for sending me a copy of the "IMA Bulletin" concerning the Students for a Democratic Society.

In reply to your inquiry, this Bureau does not maintain a bibliography such as you describe which I can send to you; however, I am enclosing some material which I hope will be helpful to you. You may wish to read my other books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." They may be available at your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

B7C

MAILED 9
APR 1 8 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (4)
LEB Introd. 9/68
Turbulence on the Campus'
Director's Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on 2-23-68, re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups
Director's Statement before National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 9-18-68.

NOTE: Bufiles disclose we wrote correspondent on 5-15-68 in response to his inquiry concerning kidnaping. Upon approval, this letter and its enclosures should be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for review and any additional action deemed appropriate.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

b7C

12 Apr 1969

Mr. J Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr Hoover:

I've just finished reading your latest book on "Communism" and feel that we have a rough road ahead.

You state that we should study this problem to get a better perspective. Could you please send me a bibliography of selected readings that will bring me up to date on this problem?

I am attaching a copy of a recent Illinois Mfg's Assn newsletter illustrating a new S.D.S. tactic.

Sincerely

Keep up your good work. b7C

REC-97

12 APR 22 1969

BX

12 Apr 196[illegible]

Mr J Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr Hoover

I've just finished reading your letter from [illegible] on Communism and feel that we have a [illegible] road ahead.

You state that we should study this problem to get a better perspective. Could you please send me a bibliography of selected readings that will bring me up to date on this problem?

(over)

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

I am attaching a copy of a recent Illinois [illegible] newsletter illustrating a new S.O.S. tactic.

Sincerely

b7C

Keep up your good work.

IMA Bulletin

FOUNDED 1893

Published by ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

200 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 60601 • Telephone WAbash

March 25, 1969

"STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY" PLAN SUMMER WORK-IN AT MANUFACTURING PLANTS

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who have distinguished themselves thus far with their rad-ical left-wing disruptive activities on the nation's campuses, are apparently preparing to try to branch out in manufacturing plants. The attached student summer work-in plan, published verbatim, is interesting reading and food for serious thought.

It is to be hoped that this SDS program will not prejudice the chances of college students to obtain summer employment in industry, since SDS is a very small minority of college students. But employers should be alert to the problems posed by this program, and should make plans as to the best manner of handling suspected trouble-makers in their plants.

E. EDGERTON HART,
Executive Vice-President

S.D.S.
STUDENT SUMMER WORK-IN

Student concern about poverty, poor education, the war, etc. has grown considerably on college campuses around the country. The desire to make meaningful changes can be seen in the growth of such programs as Free Universities, Tutorial programs, anti-draft unions, and the like. Students have won many small victories. But nevertheless, students are isolated. We have ignored the largest section of the population: the workers.

As intellectual students who seek certain social changes we must begin to ally ourselves with the workers. We should not and cannot remain in our "ivory tower".

In order for any student-worker alliance to come into existence, we must face squarely the misconceptions we may have regarding worker apathy. With the current strike levels higher than since the depression we see clearly that the workers are not apathetic. The Workers ARE on the move.

S.D.S. is planning a program that will help students get summer jobs in an attempt to break down the barriers that are keeping students isolated. Students involved in the Summer Work-In will meet regularly to discuss their on-the-job experiences; contradictions they may face, how to speak to certain issues, conclusions drawn from their experiences with workers. The student Summer Work-In is an opportunity for students to learn from workers.

I. How to Research Jobs in Your Area

Manufacturing—A Directory of Manufacturers (from the library or Chamber of Commerce) lists plants, number employed, and sometimes a breakdown as to male and female employees.

Transportation, utilities, hospitals—Consult phone book or ask librarian for any other directories. Also try union hiring halls.

II. What Jobs to Look For

Job-seekers should try to get hired in places that have several hundred workers. Reasons for this include: a) if we want to distribute literature, the potential is greater, b) the larger the company, the better chance of a basic union, that the workers will have a sense of organization (even if the union is a sellout one), that there will be a tie-in to workers nationally, c) in large plants in national unions there is a better chance the workers will become part of (and have a history of) mass strike movements, rebellions against sellout leadership, conflict with the gov. due to "national interest" injunctions, which might create the basis for greater mutual exchange about questions relating to opposition to gov. policies, d) the larger the company the likelier the existence of masses of unskilled jobs which we can fill, especially as replacements for workers taking vacations. If at all possible, choose a plant in the area of your school, to facilitate the possibility of worker-student alliance later on.

If you are white, select a plant where the majority are white. While Black workers might be thought of as more politically conscious, what we are trying to do is to reach white workers on the questions of the war and racism, to name but two areas. If Black, a student should get a job with Black workers; women should give special consideration to jobs where many women are employed (such as electrical industry, department stores, phone).

III. How to Get a Job

Some places hire students specifically for the summer as replacements for workers on vacations (altho usually bosses try to get by with not filling in, unless the union contract has specific stipulations and they are enforced). Most won't hire a student, and in most cases it would be best not to mention

ENCLOSURE

you are a student (unless you have sounded out the situation before hand by sending someone who doesn't really want the job to ask questions, etc.). If you can't say you're a student, you will have to come in as a high-school graduate with a "former place of employment" for the past 1-4 years. Talk about this with your group beforehand to work things out. In most cases indicate that whatever you did on your previous job involved some kind of manual work. You're not afraid of real work, is the idea to get across.

Be familiar with whatever type of transportation will get you to work or say you 'have a friend who works nearby'. Some places won't hire you if they think you are a potential latecomer.

Draft status may be a problem, since 1-Y or even 4-F applicants are usually turned down, and 2-S immediately reveals your student status. Try not to mention it and use your wits if they do.

If you use a "background" story make sure your former boss knows about it, and make sure you were "laid off" due to slow business, etc. and not fired. Choose a salary approximate to the job for which you are applying or a little less and make sure your former boss knows this too.

If you take an aptitude test, don't show off. On a time test, answer about half the questions or they may be suspicious and want to use you in the "front office". Sometimes it is hard to judge, and if possible it is good for someone to test out the situation for you.

If you have any physical defects which can't be detected from a normal physical exam, don't mention them. Companies are wary of hiring someone with previous injuries which could be re-injured, creating the basis for a suit.

You should be at your first place looking at around 8:30 or 9:00, and don't go to your last place any later than noon. Otherwise they'll think you never get up till noon. Generally, don't wear a suit, but don't dress like a slob or a hippy. Sports jacket/dress with low heels usually will do.

If you have to sign a "non-communist" or "non-subversive" statement, you can do so without breaking any law unless the company is doing govt. work (this would be stated). Discuss this with the group if you are unclear.

Be straightforward, use simple language and attitude, not $20 words. Don't volunteer information, just answer what is asked.

IV. What to Expect on the Job

Don't start sounding off the first day on the job, or even the first week. Work, learn your job and don't goof off on someone else's back, but if the workers are taking a break or goofing, go ahead (unless it will cost the job, which the others will understand). Although we're here for a short time and can't expect miracles in three months, we don't have to wait as long as we might (if it were a permanent job) to "open up" on political questions. LEARN FROM THE WORKERS, about the work, job, history of the plant, their attitudes on every question. Listen, and participate in bull sessions. You might find out who the finks are.

Don't be shocked by the racist remarks of the white workers, by confused political impressions, pro-war talk, "keeping-up-with-the-Joneses" talk. If the workers understood racism, the war, middle class morality, capitalist manipulation, etc., things would [illegible] they are. [illegible] them know you're a student [illegible] without [illegible] the job. You can't be honest with the workers until they know. Altho some workers think students are snobs (some are), they also respect education and want their kids to go to college. Your job is to bring across the *identity of interests* between students and workers. Without workers there would be no universities, they create the wealth, and have the power. Without them, no basic changes can happen in the system, etc.

But we are there with a specific purpose—to talk about political issues even the student movement, since we will have a chance to "change our image" from what the press has said about us. Talking about racism among white workers is no easy thing, to point out how the boss uses race, union, sex, craft, nationality, etc. to separate workers; it is easier to sit on them if they are divided, etc. The illusions created by the coming elections will be hard to combat. We can't expect wild things in three months, but we can begin to question, to point out relationships they might not have thought about or might be afraid to express out loud, and we can begin to learn how to express these ideas without being presumptous or arrogant. Try talking to receptive individuals; don't start by using a lunchroom for a "soap box oration". Discuss the use of literature, when to use, what kind.

Try to make a few friends to last beyond the summer, and try to get their addresses and phone numbers before you leave the job. Otherwise, it might be hard to contact them again. Concentrate on making new friends, even join a bowling team, etc.

Don't talk to workers like you know everything and they know nothing. First of all, it's not true (probably the reverse). Even if you do know more about the specifics of the Geneva Agreements or statistics on Black Oppression, that doesn't mean that by making a speech you'll get the facts across. Be patient; make it an *exchange* of experience, not a one-way affair. We will all make mistakes; don't give up! Discuss things with the group. The workers were all rookies once, but they survived because they had to; they had to eat.

Try to record your experiences by day or week. Just a few notes about relevant events will be invaluable for other people participating in the Work-In, for those next summer and for other publicity such as a regional newsletter or New Left Notes (or any other).

Come to work on time! Lateness is the first cause of being fired in a trial period. Don't start broadside against the union leadership. Listen, ask questions about grievances and perhaps suggest types of fights if you can think of something. But don't feel compelled to give leadership on all questions. One important result of your job may just be an appreciation of what workers are up against in their fight against the boss, the govt. and sellout union leadership. Knowledge of the in-plant gripes will help if there is to be follow-up along the lines of work-student alliance when you get back to school. You will be able to relate your leaflets to actual problems inside the gates.

Remember when you start talking about the war, many workers who agree with you will keep quiet, while the supporters will speak out. Don't get into knock-down, drag-out arguments with the latter, rather talk with the ones you're making friends with. Don't get yourself into a position of being 'you against the workers'. Know the facts (the group could compile pertinent bibliographies)! If you talk with workers whose sons are in Viet Nam, be careful. That's an emotional area in which it may be very hard to convince him that your idea of supporting his son is correct. Start by understanding his position of having been brainwashed all these years and seeing his son in danger 'from the other side'. To convince an already convinced student is one thing; to change the mind of this worker will be a task we will have to develop patience and understanding for.

After you are there a month or so, try to pick a few workers who are interested in your ideas and who have friends in the shop, concentrate on individual discussions with the hope of keeping these workers as contact after you leave. Talk about the possibilities of students' offering the workers assistance in any struggles coming up, on picket lines, doing research, etc. Don't necessarily start asking about union meetings. Many times they are [illegible] the summer or at any rate [illegible]. If there are meetings, go if you [illegible] the idea of listening rather than orating.

Since only general things have been covered here, it will be essential to keep in close contact with the group to discuss problems with these. If possible, try to have two students in the same job to compare notes, exchange experiences, and get a broader view of the place. However, if students work together, they should not team up. It will be a constant temptation to stick with the person you know the best, can communicate with easiest, etc. This is not to say that you should ignore each other on the job, just that your primary aim will be to work and communicate with the permanent workers in the plant

FBI

Date: 4/4/69

Transmit the following in ____________________ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL ____________________ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

Re Chicago airtel dated 4/3/69 captioned STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - C, NIC and NC meetings, March 27-31, 1969, Austin, Texas, reporting therein the proceedings of these meetings.

B1

[redacted]

3-Bureau (RM) REC 18
1-Boston (100-35472) (RM)
1-Cleveland (100-27031) (RM)
1-Dallas (100-) (RM)
1-Detroit (100-30957) (RM)
1-Los Angeles (100-66519) (RM)
1-New York (100-148047) (RM)
1-Philadelphia (100-45556) (RM)
1-San Antonio (100-9838) (RM)
1-San Francisco (100-52152) (RM)
1-WFO (100-47122) (RM)
3-Chicago
[redacted] b7D
(1-100-41353) (AHC)
RRG/mah
(16)

17 APR 9 1969

INT. SEC.

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFIED BY
EXEMPT FROM
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION

APR 23 1969

Approved: ____________ Sent ____________ M Per ____________
Special Agent in Charge

54 APR 29 1969

Paragraphs marked c otherwise u

It appears to Chicago that SDS has moved in ever increasing tempo from the "participatory democracy" of an unorganized phenomenon to at this stage a self defined "revolutionary movement" seeking both ideology guidance from teachings of Marxism-Leninism and organizational direction without the trappings of the old left (CP, USA). That the Port Huron statement of 1962 is a relic of the past only signifies vast changes that have occurred within SDS and continue to pose for them the problem of presenting a program to youth which is at one and the same time revolutionary but without restrictive organizational control.

B1

If these comments are at variance with information developed by other informants and/or their opinions substantially different with those expressed herein those offices receiving this communication are requested to set forth the views, and opinions based on their informants in order that a more substantial outlook may be determined. The comments of the Chicago Office are recorded at the close of this communication.

Current Position of SDS as a Marxist-Leninist Movement

At the National Convention of SDS in June of 1968, BERNADINE DOHRN, Interorganizational Secretary of SDS when asked what her position was, stated, "I am a revolutionary communist", which statement was received with applause. Such a statement, however, was somewhat isolated and the leaders of SDS did not parade their "communist" leanings. But this has changed, wherein all the leaders of SDS freely claim their Marxist-Leninist identity. It is

generally held within SDS that the movement has progressed from a civil rights struggle to an anti-war struggle to an anti-imperialist struggle. As such SDS claims to be an anti-imperialist revolutionary movement. The leadership fully supports the Marxist-Leninist concept of seizing state power from the ruling class by whatever means necessary. At the present NC meeting it appeared that the major discussion concerning the organization in the coming months is how to define the student class as being a part of or identical with the working class.

With respect to ideology it is worthy to note that the leadership of SDS accepts the tenet of MAO Tse tung that the major contradiction facing the world today is that between the oppressed nations of the world and imperialism (see A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement). This, however, does not mean that the leaders of SDS accept any special relationship with China nor at this point a special affinity to the teachings of MAO Tse tung. They have concluded, however, that the most important role for them today is education and study, not only to raise their own Marxist-Leninist conscience, but to be able to influence in the same manner the working class.

SDS is now by definition of their leaders a "revoltionary movement" which uses Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action. This statement does not seem as yet to reflect a specific identity with a communist foreign country or a particular allegiance to, either the Soviet Union, China, or Cuba. As to this, one of the points of contention during the Austin, Texas meetings was the statement that Progressive Labor Party (PLP) had received one million dollars from the Chinese. PLP in private corversation was attacked because of this, in that having accepted this money from China, they were then obligated to China. Even with respect to the proposals passed at the NC which condemned the Soviet Union in the border dispute with China, it was intended not so

much as support of China as it was a condemnation of the Soviet Union.

It should be understood that SDS considers the Soviet Union to be an imperialist power and is likened to United States imperialism. Hence, to support the Soviet Union on any issue is unthinkable.

Within the past year there have been delegations of SDS leaders who have traveled to Cuba and there may again by a delegation this year. It appeared, however, at this convention that the leadership was somewhat swinging away from too direct an identity with the Cuban revolution as a model for SDS action because of the feeling that "adventurism" was a latent force in the Cuban revolution. Now that the leaders of SDS are getting down to the nitty gritty of organization and program the romanticism of the Cuban revolution is less enchanting. This does not mean that fraternal relations will not be maintained with Cuba, but rather that the leadership does not seem to view Cuba as a model for revolutionary activities.

Leadership Possibilities

B1

b1

RK

b1

b1

Program

The current NC failed to discuss the proposal- "Smash The Military Machines in the Schools", which, prior to the NC was believed to be the main document outlining the national program of action for SDS. This document had appeared in "New Left Notes" of 1/15/69 and was considered by the leaders to be an important document. It was, however, not presented to the NC and it was believed that DOHRN was responsible for not bringing it to the attention of the NC.

Hence, the five proposals considered under "Racism" which mainly reflected the theoretical fight with PLP and the subsequent debate on LES COLEMAN's "Schools Proposal" underlined the main issue at this NC meeting, which was the factional discord between SDS and PLP.

It was also noted that the only call to action was the use of bumper stickers in a national compaign to boycott the Standard Oil Company. Also even though the Ayer's-McKeen proposal debated and passed in that portion of the NC meeting devoted to labor matters was accepted without great enthusiasm and it is not known what the effect of this proposal will be in terms of national SDS.

Therefore, the lack of program and direction for action at the NC was in a large part a result of the great amount of time taken up by PLP and SDS in debating theoretical issues. At the final NIC meeting it was decided that an anti-war campaign would begin during sometime in May, but this was not to be a nationally inspired program, but rather one which would be planned and directed from three SDS regions in the country. Even this was not debated at the NC.

Relations With Other Organizations

Black Panther Party (BPP)

B1

CG 100-40903

Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

Because of the defeat of all its major issues at this NC, it is not believed that PLP will be able to elect a member or sympathizer to one of the three national secretary positions in June. Because of the complete domination on all the issues of the SDS leaders, it seems to be a question of whether PLP was actually weaker or whether SDS had gained strength since the last NC meeting. The leadership of SDS was able to swing the delegates to their position on the question of the BPP and the National Liberation Front (NLF), both which PLP had strenuously objected to. The initial vote on the first day of the NC on the first proposal under the "Racism" agenda thoroughly rejected the "Workers Student Alliance" position of PLP and from that point on PLP was unable to counter-attack the leadership of SDS.

Also the comments in the NC to the effect that PLP had had an internal split on the question of nationalism; that JOHN LEVIN of San Francisco PLP had been beaten up by some PLP members and that JARRED ISRAEL, their most effective spokesman, did not attend this NC all providing an underlining tone of defeatism to the PLP positions.

It is to be noted that the leadership of SDS came to this NC meeting in a turmoil as to the strength of PLP and possibly some fears as to whether or not PLP would attempt to take over the organization. As each PLP proposal was defeated, however, the leaders of SDS became more and more confident of their ability to control the destiny of the organization.

Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM)

81

B1

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

B1

CP, USA

B1

The CP, USA is regarded as an arm of the Soviet Union and is completely "revisionist" and operates in collusion with United States imperialism. Because of the total rejection of the CP, USA among the leadership of SDS, it is not believed that they have any appreciable influence at all within SDS, nor is it believed that in a subsequent factional dispute, that the Party would be able to exercise any influence in controlling any part of those attendees at this NC meeting.

CG 100-40903

Comments of the Chicago Office

During the past year and in particular within the past three months, SDS has taken an increasingly Marxist-Leninist position on every issue, possibly as a result of the pressure from the PLP wherein the leadership found it necessary to defend their position in Marxism-Leninism terminology, but it is quite probable that their development to a Marxist-Leninist position was a result of their natural growth, wherein Marxist-Leninist ideology was needed to underwrite an essentially socialist program.

The formulations and content of the proposals submitted at this NC and the articles which have appeared in "New Left Notes" in the recent past, and the comments of the source set forth herein reflected the undoubted Marxist-Leninist stance of SDS. However, the refusal of the organization to align itself as yet with one of the three recognized centers of world revolutions, Moscow, Peking or Havana, is unusual. The open and unhesitant hostility and their categorization of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power, places the CP, USA in an untenable position with SDS as an outmoded nonrevolutionary organization representative of the "old left."

It is interesting to note that the vote in favor of China at the NC meeting was regarded by SDS more in the light of a censure of the Soviet Union than as a pro-China sentiment (even though the proposal originated with PLP).

This statement is reflective of their position at this time even though they have accepted certain concepts of MAO Tse-tung and in particular the main tenet of the primary contradiction as that between the imperialistic countries and the oppressed nations. This certainly points up an ambivalence of the leadership in addressing themselves to the necessity in firstly forming a solid organization and secondly identifying the organization with their international friends.

It is also important to note here the general view within SDS that the acceptance of money necessitates an obligation to the provider of the funds, hence the current leadership can look down their noses at relationships

CG 100-40903

of both the CP, USA with the CPSU and the PLP with the CPC. It would seem though that SDS is hurting for financial assistance and it becomes a question then at what time it would be necessary for them to turn to an international "angel" to provide the funds for their continued growth.

In this sense, it does not seem that Cuba has the necessary finances to assist SDS since within the leadership they question the intentions of Cuba as Cuba herself receives money from the Soviet Union. There remains within SDS, however, a fraternal comrade relationship with Cuba because of their ability to stand up to and combat United States imperialism. However, the theories of the Cuban revolution as written by REGIS DE BRAY, in which the primary emphasis is accorded to action rather than the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party as the initial ingredient to the revolution, is coming under some question among the leadership, due to the fact that the current struggle with PLP shows their need for Marxist-Leninist guidance in developing revolutionary program.

If this assessment is correct SDS then is an organization of undoubted Marxist-Leninist content that has not as yet defined a deep bond of fraternal relationship with any one existing communist country, nor has the leadership accepted any national Marxist-Leninist party as its mentor, whether the CP, PLP or SWP, in fact its open hostilities toward these existing parties is of primary significance in our analysis of this organization.

Potential

b1

B1

It is possible that the leadership of SDS may follow the path of the "revolutionary collectives" of BERGMAN and in this sense then it should be observed that the leaders of SDS have not arrived at a Marxist-Leninist position in a vacuum and individual study, education and political training did receive direction and influence. Because of this education individual leaders were able to confront PLP and defend them on their own theoretical grounds.

It is interesting to recall a statement of CARL DAVIDSON who is regarded as the theoretician of SDS who remarked that 85 per cent of the movement are shock troops and that of the remaining 15 per cent, half were politically motivated and half were organizers. This appears to be an accurate assessment and reflects how the "inner clique" is able through their political training and organizational ability to direct and control the destiny of an organization such as SDS. The concern expressed here then is primarily with these political leaders and organizational activists who exercise the control and who play the important roles both publically and behind the scenes. To report the proceedings of the various meetings that occurred on March 27-31, 1969, in Austin, Texas, without comment, is insufficient to provide an analysis of SDS or to indicate the direction in which it may be heading.

In this light the foregoing comments are being furnished.

CONFIDENTIAL

FBI

Date: 4/18/69

Transmit the following in ______________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ______________________
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: RACIAL TENSIONS
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU)
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
RM - STAG
OO: CHICAGO
(OO file 157-2423) (P)

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-SDS
OO: CHICAGO
(OO File 100-44715) (P)

Remytels dated 4/17/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and entitled as above.

Copies of said LHM are being furnished to USA, U. S. Secret Service and MISU, all Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Source mentioned in LHM is [redacted] B7D

Chicago following activities at Northwestern University and will keep Bureau advised.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)
3 - Chicago
1 - 157-413

WDS:jto
(5)

NOT RECORDED
165 APR 25 1969

ENCLOSURE

Approved: ______ Special Agent in Charge Sent ______ M Per ______

51 MAY 1 1969

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. CG 157-2423
CG 100-44715

Chicago, Illinois
April 18, 1969

RACIAL TENSIONS
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU)
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated April 17, 1969, entitled as above.

On April 17, 1969, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that 21 Negro students of Northwestern University (NU) continued their hunger strike in the plaza in front of Rebecca Crown Center, NU, throughout the previous night and that it was continuing that day. The demonstration is in protest of disciplinary action by the NU administration against 21 black students who were suspended or placed on probation as a result of a raid on the Triangle Fraternity House, NU, on March 4, 1969. Said raid resulted in injuries to white fraternity members and damage to property in the fraternity house.

Said source advised that the attempts of approximately 200 students, white and Negro to participate in a candlelight vigil, in support of the strike, on the evening of April 16, 1969, was hampered by the rain and only a few students remained throughout the night.

Source also advised that Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at NU sponsored a sympathy strike of 21 white students which began in the early morning of April 17, 1969, and consisted of a picket line set up around the Rebecca Crown Center.

A description of SDS is attached to this memorandum.

100-431015 -

ENCLOSURE

RE: RACIAL TENSIONS
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU)
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Later on April 17, 1969, said source advised that the above protest by the 21 Negro students and the 21 white sympathizers continued throughout April 17, 1969. The demonstration was peaceful and no disturbances or arrests occurred.

The Chicago "Sun-Times", a daily Chicago newspaper, in its issue of April 18, 1969, stated that the attorney for the 21 black students charged that they were "coerced" into agreeing to the negotiated pact by which they were disciplined. He also criticized J. Douglas Quick, President of Triangle Fraternity who has termed the disciplinary measures as insufficient punishment.

It had been previously reported by the "Daily Northwestern", official publication of the NU student body, in its issue of April 16, 1969, that black students charged that the NU disciplinary committee had threatened to expell six black students unless the 21 agreed to the suspensions and probation. This was denied by an NU administrator.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to United States Attorney, Chicago, Illinois; United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois; Naval Investigative Service Office, Chicago, Illinois; and Region 1, 113th Military Intelligence Group, Evanston, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

WA 02 751PM LJP

URGENT 4-20-69 LJP

TO DIRECTOR ----CODE----

FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (157-2423) (P) 2P

RACIAL TENSIONS, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU), EVANSTON ILLINOIS, RM - STAG.

NU STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS - SDS, OO CHICAGO.

[redacted] ILLINOIS, PD ADVISED TODA[redacted] A GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED ADULTS AND STUDENTS GATHERED AT TWO PM TODAY AT REBECCA CROWN CENTER, NU, WHERE TWENTY ONE BLACK STUDENTS AND TWENTY ONE WHITE SDS SYMPATHIZERS ARE PROTESTING DISCIPLINARY ACTION TAKEN BY NU AGAINST TWENTY ONE BLACK SUDENTS BY CONDUCTING A HUNGER STRIKE.

THIS GROUP, AFTER HEARING SPEECHES BY PARTICIPANTS OF THIS PROTEST, DISPERSED AT FOUR FIFTY PM WITHOUT INCIDENT.

FOUR OF THE PROTESTERS, THREE BLACK, ONE WHITE, HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO EVANSTON HOSPITAL BY PD, SUFFERING FROM MALNUTRITION. THE BALANCE OF PROTESTERS ARE STILL MAINTAINING THEIR VIGIL AT REBECCA CROWN CENTER.

USA, MILITARY, AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

END PAGE ONE

To White House, AG, Secret Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI, OSI, DIA, by tel

CC's to DAG; AAG; ______, ______, NIS, IDIU, Vice President

100-439048 - NOT RECORDED

180 APR 25 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

FTB

59 APR 29 1969

PAGE TWO CG 100-44715 157-2423

ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTEL APRIL EIGHTEEN LAST.

CHICAGO WILL FOLLOW AND NOTIFY BUREAU OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

1 - Mr. [redacted] b7C

SAC, New York (100-148047) 4/23/69

Director, FBI ~~(100-439048)~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - GEN
IS - SDS

Reference is made to Buffalo airtel dated 4/16/69.

Enclosed for the information of New York is one copy each of a circular and two documents mentioned in referenced airtel which were not sent New York. Also, enclosed for the information of Chicago is a copy of reference airtel, the circular and the two documents.

The Bureau has no record of prior receipt of the two documents prepared by the New York Regional Office of SDS concerning a "Work-In" proposed by SDS for this coming summer. New York is directed to immediately conduct appropriate investigation to determine the circumstances surrounding the origin of this program; plans for its implementation this summer; background data concerning the individuals involved in preparing the proposal; whether the Progressive Labor Party faction in SDS, New York City, is the guiding force behind it; and if this program is to be confined to the New York area or is intended to be nation-wide.

This investigation must be handled promptly and results submitted to the Bureau by LHM. Copies of these two SDS documents should be attached to the LHM.

Chicago is requested to promptly advise the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination if any nation-wide program has been instituted by National Headquarters of SDS concerning the so-called invasion of industrial organizations and other possible organizations this summer for the purpose of disrupting operations and conducting intensive propaganda campaigns among employees. Bureau files do indicate that SDS in Detroit is apparently intending to initiate such a program but other than that no other information has been received.

MAILED 7
APR 23 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures - 3

REC 18 100-439048-264

2 - Chicago (100-40903) (Enclosures - 4)

WNP:lvh
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 APR 23 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

55 APR 30 1969

Letter to SAC, New York
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

NOTE:

Documents prepared by SDS are two page "postal" designed to recruit "Work-In" participants and explain projects, aims and "Work-In Organizers Manual" which occurring to its cover pages is "intended to help Work-In organizers in selecting and getting jobs." The manual also contains some pointers on the approaches to the political issues that will be listed and encountered at work. The circular is prepared by the Industrial Management Council of Rochester, New York, and sets forth particulars concerning the SDS documents.

VIA TELETYPE
APR 21 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

VA--15--950 PM RSH

URGENT 4-21-69 RSH

TO DIRECTOR --CODED--

FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (157-2423) (P)

RACIAL TENSIONS, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU), EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, RM-STAG. NU STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) IS - SDS. OO; CHICAGO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY HUNGER STRIKE OF NEGRO STUDENTS CONTINUED THROUGH DAY IN FRONT OF REBECCA CROWN CENTER, NU. THREE NEGRO STUDENTS HOSPITALIZED DUE TO EXPOSURE AND HUNGER. STUDENTS CLAIM THEY WILL CONTINUE UNTIL DEMANDS ARE MET OR ALL ARE HOSPITALIZED.

SOURCE ALSO ADVISED STRIKE OF TWENTYONE WHITE MEMBERS OF SDS ALSO CONTINUES. ONE WHITE STUDENT HOSPITALIZED DUE EXPOSURE AND HUNGER. SDS HAS SET UP PROGRAM WHERE THEY WILL CHANGE STRIKERS PERIODICALLY TO MAINTAIN THEIR NUMBERS AT TWENTYONE. SOURCE ADVISED FIVE THREE ZERO PM INSTANT THAT DESPITE PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT, STRIKERS PEACEFULLY DISPERSED, AND INFO NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE WHETHER HUNGER STRIKE WILL BE RENEWED AT A LATER TIME. CAMPUS QUIET.

NO VIOLENCE. NO ARRESTS.

END PAGE ONE

REC-49 100-439048-2649

15 APR 24 1969

To White House, AG, Secret Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI, OSI, DIA, by tel 4-21-69

CC to DAG; AAG; CIVIL, NIS, IDIU, Vice President 4-21-69

TELETYPED TO: 143

54 APR 30 1969

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTEL APRIL EIGHTEEN, LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted] ICAGO 67D

FOLLOWING. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

Xerox- IDIU

MR. WELLS
ROOM 902 9&D

REC 43
100-439048-2650

April 23, 1969

b7C

Dear

In reply to your letter of April 17th, I am sending to you some material on the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) which I hope will be of help to you.

SDS, as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. This association of young people has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status and denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. It also seeks to "radically transform" the university community and to provide for its complete control by students. The SDS is infiltrated by Communist Party members, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 22
APR 23 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (3)
Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
Turbulence on the Campus
Testimony of Director before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on 2-23-68 re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

NOTE: On the basis of available information, correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

LMG:rat (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

59 APR 29 1969 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

b7C

April 1., 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

You have been a constructive force in our country for so long, and perhaps you would care to do something for us fathers of college men.

It is my understanding that the Students For Democratic Society is a subversive organization. I have read about this group and it is my understanding that they have been declared a communist front organization.

When I try to convince my college age son that these people, while not all members of the party, are being led by men specifically trained in organizing young college men for purposes contrary to the welfare of our country.

Is there a booklet printed by your organization, or by the Office of Printing which would tell us something about the S.D.S., so that I could let my college age son become acquainted with this organization?

You would be a big help to all of us fathers if you could provide us with information on this group, in magazine articles, or in publications which you would make available.

I feel this is a serious situation, and my son tells me that the people he knows at school who belong to this organization are not communist but young men who have a sincere purpose in demonstrating their dislike for ROTC, war, etc.

You would certainly help me personally if I could learn where I could secure some pamphlet or some article explaining the real connections of the S.D.S. and what they are really trying to do.

Yours respectively,

[redacted] b7c

REC 43

100-439048-2650

22 APR 21 1969

30 APR 21 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

ack/mi

not

3/13/6

NR WA 07 727PM LJ

URGENT 4-18-69 LJP

TO DIRECTOR ---CODE---

FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (157-2423) (P) P

VIA TELETYPE
APR 1 8 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

RACIAL TENSIONS, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU), EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, RM - STAG.

NU STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS - SDS, OO CHICAGO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY TWO ONE BLACK STUDENTS AND TWENTY ONE MEMBERS SDS AT NU ARE CONTINUING HUNGER STRIKE. THE BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS HAVE SET UP SEPARATE CAMPS IN FRONT OF REBECCA CROWN CENTER. NU SOURCE ADVISED DISAGREEMENTS EXIST BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK FACTIONS. STRIKE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE THROUGHOUT WEEK END. NO VIOLENCE, NO ARRESTS. USA, MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTELS, APRIL SIXTEEN - SEVENTEEN LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted] CHICAGO WILL FOLLOW AND NOTIFY BUREAU OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS. LHM FOLLOWS.

100-439048-2651

END

WA...UDXX

JDR FBI WASH DC

REC 121

To White House, AG, Secret Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI, OSI, DIA. by tel 4-21-69.

APR 24 1969

TELETYPED TO:

CC's to DAG; AAG: Civil Rts, NIS, IDIU, ~~Vice President~~ 4-21-69.

CC MR. WELLS

67 MAY 1 - 1969

VIA TELETYPE
APR 22 1969
ENCIPHERED

WA 14 456PM EOM

URGENT 4-22-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) PLAINTEXT

(ATTENTION; DIVISION FIVE AND SIX)

FROM CHICAGO 1P

ALLEGATION OF B & O TRAIN DERAILMENT BY STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), FEDERAL TRAIN WRECK STATUTE. SDS: IS - SDS.

RE CHICAGO TEL APRIL TWENTY ONE LAST, AND LAS VEGAS TELETYPE APRIL TWENTY TWO INSTANT.

[redacted] B & O PD, ADVISED APRIL TWENTY TWO INSTANT, AN EXTENSIVE CHECK FAILED TO DISCLOSE ANY TRAIN WITH ARMS SHIPMENT EITHER IN CHICAGO OR EN ROUTE TO OR FROM CHICAGO. HIS OFFICE CONSIDERS ALLEGATION UNFOUNDED AND IS CONDUCTING NO FURTHER INQUIRY. [redacted] [redacted] ECONTACTED THIS DATE AND ADVISED NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REPORTED BY THEIR INFORMANT. IN VIEW OF UNSUBSTANTIATED NATURE OF ALLEGATION, CHICAGO CONSIDERS THIS MATTER CLOSED.

AM COPY BEING SETN LAS VEGAS.

EOD

LRC FBI WASH DC

REC 18

APR 24 1969

MAY 2 1969

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 22, 1969

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

United States Congressman Clarence J. Brown (R), Ohio, in a letter to the Director which is attached advised that a constituent furnished information that SDS is being "subsidized by the Ford Foundation and the Labor Department of our government." He requested any information regarding this.

Bureau files do not indicate that Department of Labor or Ford Foundation have subsidized SDS. In early 1965 it was reported that SDS received a "load of money" indirectly from the Ford Foundation. This was mentioned in casual conversation at a Socialist Workers Party meeting and was never verified through any other source.

OBSERVATIONS:

We have had cordial relations with Congressman Brown in the past. In view of the nature of his inquiry it is believed he should be advised orally of the confidential nature of Bureau files. He should also be advised confidentially that we have furnished the Department and Internal Revenue Service all pertinent data developed concerning the finances of SDS. In regard to his inquiry concerning allocation of funds by the Department of Labor to SDS, he should be advised to contact that Department if he so desires. He may also be advised confidentially that the New Left has received money from several foundations. A very prominent foundation in New York, for example, has contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars from 1961 to 1968 to various individuals and groups, most of which have been identified as either present or past members or sympathizers of the Communist Party, USA, or New Left movement.

REC-3

RECOMMENDATION:

Congressman Brown be orally ~~briefed~~ advised by Crime Records Division of background information along the lines set forth under observations.

100-439048

WNP:lvh
(6)

MAY 6 1969

4-528

100-439048-2667

CHANGED TO

100-439048-33-68X

JUN 19 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/22/69

Transmit the following in ________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ________________
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2423) (P)
(100-44715) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
RM - STAG
(OO: CHICAGO);

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)
IS - SDS
(OO: CHICAGO)

Remytel dated 4/21/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and entitled as above.

Copies of said LHM are being furnished to the USA, US Secret Service, and NISO, all Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

Source mentioned in LHM is [redacted]

B7D

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)
5 - Chicago
(1 - 100-47139)
(1 - 157-413)
(1 - 157-2797) (For Members Only)
WJB/rmk
(7)

NOT RECORDED
165 MAY 4 1969

22 APR 24 1969

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, ACSI, OSI
HOW FORW:
DATE FORW:
BY:
Room 833
9 & D

B7C

Approved: ________________ Sent ________________ M Per ________________
Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL

ORIGINAL FILED IN

CG 157-2423
100-44715

Chicago has separate file on For Members Only. Chicago files reflect some past racial activity at NU by MILTON GARDNER, but no separate case is being opened on him at this time.

Chicago following activity at NU and will keep Bureau advised.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois 60604
April 22, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2423
100-44715

RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS;

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated April 21, 1969, captioned as above.

On April 21, 1969, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the hunger strike by Negro students at Northwestern University (NU), Evanston, Illinois, which has been in progress since April 16, 1969, at Rebecca Crown Center, NU, was discontinued in the late afternoon of April 20, 1969. White students who were conducting a sympathy strike under the auspices of Students For a Democratic Society (SDS), also discontinued their activity. There were no incidents or arrests throughout the strike.

A description of SDS is attached to this memorandum.

The strike was in protest of disciplinary action taken by the NU administration against 21 Negro students who admittedly participated in a raid on the Triangle Fraternity House on March 4, 1969, which resulted in property damage and injuries to white students.

100-4

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL TENSIONS,
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS;

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU),
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

The "Chicago Sun-Times," a daily Chicago newspaper, in its issue of April 22, 1969, quoted MILTON GARDNER, Spokesman for a black student group called For Members Only, as stating that the strike was called off because it could not affect the Board of Directors at NU which really runs the University. GARDNER, according to the article, said withdrawal of all black students from NU was a possibility, but it was more likely that the next step of black students would be some form of direct confrontation with the administration.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to the United States Attorney, United States Secret Service, and the Naval Investigative Service Office, all Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th Military Intelligence Group, Evanston, Illinois.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

100-434018-2655

CHANGED TO

100-439048-39-153

JUN 2 5 1969

B.C./[illegible]

FBI

Date: 4/3/69

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code) CONFIDENTIAL

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE (NIC) AND NATIONAL COUNCIL (NC) MEETING, 3/27 - 31/69, AUSTIN, TEXAS
IS - SDS

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies, and for each Office one copy per designated file of a LHM captioned as above.

[redacted] b1

3 - Bureau (Encl. 12)(RM)
(1 - 100-437041) (PLP)

2 - Atlanta (Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
(1 - 100-) (SSOC)

2 - Birmingham (Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
(1 - 100-) (SSOC)

2 - Boston (Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-35472) (SDS)
(1 [redacted] b7C

Copies cont. on page 2

EX-113 REC 5 100-439048-2656

APR 7 1969

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF DATE

XEROX MAY 5 1969

Approved: Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

Classified by Exempt from GDS Category Date of Declassification Indefinite

CONFIDENTIAL

MAY 15 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

100-40903

1 - Cleveland (Encl. 1)(RM)
(1 - 100-27031) (SDS)

2 - Dallas (Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
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3 - Detroit (Encl. 3)(RM)
(1 - 100-30957) (SDS)
(1 -
(1 - 100-) (DRUM)

1 - Houston (Encl. 1)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)

2 - Jacksonville (Encl. 2)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
(1 - 100-) (SSOC)

1 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1)(RM)
(1 - 100-66519) (SDS)

1 - Newark (Encl. 1)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)

3 - New Orleans (Encl. 3)(RM)
(1 -
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
(1 - 100-) (SSOC)

11 - New York (Encl. 11)(RM)
(1 - 100-148047)(SDS)
(1 - 100-) (Progressive Labor Party)
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(1 - 100-) (Young Socialist Alliance)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - Organization)
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b7C

Copies continued page 3

CONFIDENTIAL

CG 100-40903

1 - Oklahoma City (Encl. 1)(RM)
    (1 - 100-7172) (SDS)

1 - Philadelphia (Encl. 1)(RM)
    (1 - 100-46556) (SDS)

1 - San Antonio (Encl. 1)(RM)
    (1 - 100-9838) (SDS)

3 - San Francisco (Encl. 3)(RM)
    (1 - 100-52152) (SDS)
    (1 - 100-   ) (WM, 5'11", 170 lbs., student SF State)
    (1 - 100-   ) (UNSUB, WM, 33-35, 5'7", 155 lbs. spoke on China)

2 - WFO (Encl. 2)(RM)
    (1 - 100-47172)
    (1 [redacted]

B7C

10 - Chicago
    (1 [redacted])
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 [redacted]
    (1 - 100-46723) (New Left Movement - Political Activities)
    (1 - 100-   ) (Chicago Region - SDS)

B7C
B7D

RRG/rms
(52)

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CG 100-40903

b7D

Dissemination of this LHM has been relegated to files where individuals were identified by the source as having played a role as speaker in the NIC and/or NC meetings or was identified in a leadership capacity during the proceedings. A subsequent communication will be forwarded reflecting the attendees at this conference as identified by the source.

The enclosed LHM reflects then the actual proceedings during the period from 3/27 - 31/69, only and the comments of the informant with respect to the current status of SDS within the left wing movement and its possible future direction will be the subject of a subsequent communication.

It is, however, noteworthy to offer at this time the opinion of the informant that during these proceedings, the PLP faction was soundly defeated in all their main proposals and the leadership of SDS feel that PLP will not have a chance to take over the organization at the forthcoming National Convention meeting in June, 1969.

b7D

The Detroit Office will note MIKE KLONSKY's statement with respect to the location of the forthcoming National Convention as possibly somewhere in Michigan. As this is a tontative arrangement, all Offices then are requested to alert their key informants to submit more complete information on the site of the forthcoming National Convention meeting as it becomes available.

A copy of this communication has been sent to the San Francisco Office to check the identity of the unknown subject who spoke on the China question at the NC meeting, as this person may be associated with the Revolutionary Union (RU).

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CG 100-40903

Copies of the LHM have also been designated for certain Southern offices in view of the information contained herein which reflects the break of fraternal relations between SDS and the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC).

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

Chicago, Illinois
April 3, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE (NIC)
AND NATIONAL COUNCIL (NC) MEETING,
3/27 - 31/69, AUSTIN, TEXAS

On April 1 and 2, 1969, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information concerning SDS meetings of the NIC and the NC that occurred in Austin, Texas, during the period from March 27, through March 31, 1969. The source noted, with respect to the NIC meetings, both reported herein, were "open" meetings and as such did not take up questions of security, which discussions were reserved for NIC members only.

On March 27, 1969, during the evening, an open meeting of the NIC was held in which approximately 150 persons attended. Among those NIC members observed were:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) OF
DATE

Chip Marshall
Jeff Jones
Mike Spiegel
Fartee Smile
Carl Oglesby
Bernardine Dohrn - Inter-Organizational Secretary
Fred Gordon - Internal Education Secretary
Mike Klonsky - National Secretary.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Group 1
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ON

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
ET AL

Dohrn chaired the meeting which concerned itself with certain questions relating to the policy regarding the admission of the press to sessions of the forthcoming NC meeting. It was decided that no electronic equipment of whatever type would be allowed into the NC meeting. It was noted here that Dohrn stated that caution should be exercised in connection with the registration lists in order that they be held in confidence.

Fred Gordon stated that he wanted to bring to the NC an Assistant Educational Secretary to assist him with his work. Dohrn remarked that in view of the fact that Gordon was never at the National Office, there was no reason then for him to have an assistant. Gordon explained that he had recently been in jail; therefore, he was unable to be present at the National Office. His motion was tabled for discussion at the NC.

Mike Spiegel of the Washington SDS Region inquired if the national secretaries should not discuss this question and have the authority then to hire and fire as with the National Office staff. Tim Mc Carthy of the National Office staff, who is reputed to be the expert on the SDS constitution, was asked about this by Dohrn. He stated that he was unable to give an answer.

At this meeting of the NC, a tentative agenda was discussed and it was decided that the initial plenary would begin at 11 a.m. on March 28, 1969.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); ET AL

On March 28, 1969, a SDS Educational Conference was held in plenary session beginning at 11 a.m., the purpose being to discuss the agenda for the forthcoming NC meeting. After much discussion between the leaders of SDS and those representing the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), it was finally decided the agenda would include the following:

1. Racism (five separate proposals were agreed upon for submission for discussion to the NC);

2. The National Office educational packet;

3. The Southern Student Organizing Committee proposal;

4. The schools proposal submitted by Les Coleman of the Chicago Region;

5. Labor proposals including one submitted by Bill Ayres and Jim Mellen;

6. Drugs (this proposal was being introduced by PLP);

7. The China - Soviet Union border dispute proposal (also to be submitted by PLP);

8. Miscellaneous.

At the conclusion of this discussion on the agenda, it was decided that the meeting would be broken up into various workshops, a number of which were set up to discuss Coleman's schools proposal, high school organizing and a workshop on militarism.

Subsequently, on March 28, 1969, a workshop was held from 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. to discuss Les Coleman's proposal on schools. (It is noted that his proposal first appeared in

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"New Left Notes" of March 20, 1969, under the heading "The Schools Must Serve The People." At the NC, a copy of his proposal was passed out which appears hereafter during the March 31, 1969, NC meeting.)

Also this discussion did concern itself, although briefly, with the May Day proposal but this proposal did not come up for discussion during the NC meeting. (It is to be noted this proposal appeared in the March 20, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes.")

This workshop was attended by as many as 200 individuals although it started with no more than 75 in attendance. The attendance swelled to greater proportions later in the meeting when PLP entered the meeting en masse.

Les Coleman of the Chicago Region SDS led the discussion and at the outset stated that anyone who was not friendly to his proposal (PLP) would have to leave the meeting. Thereafter he described in detail his proposal. At one point an individual from the crowd identified himself as "a socialist," whereupon Coleman stated, "Brother, you are in the wrong place. We are all communists here, not socialists."

Coleman's discussion concerned questions on nationalism, racism and the working class, and he was supported during his discussion by Mike Klonsky.

After PLP forces entered the meeting, they attacked Coleman verbally and specifically questioned his theoretical presentation by calling him a "pork chop nationalist."

("Pork chop nationalism" is understood by SDS to mean those Blacks who are struggling for individual identity and cultural heritage but who are without revolutionary aims and purposes. The Black Panther Party (BPP) represents correct nationalist aspirations in that they are directly involved in a revolutionary struggle to bring about the destruction of

United States imperialism. (As viewed by SDS, the BPP has the correct line on the national question.)

During this exchange, Klonsky took the floor and heatedly defended Coleman stating he had heard of the attacks on Coleman as being a sex pervert and a counterrevolutionary, but such charges were totally unfounded. At this point Klonsky challenged anyone from PLP to come up on the stage and he would personally take them on. He further accused PLP of selling out the National Liberation Front (NLF) of Viet Nam.

During this workshop, an unknown individual who identified himself as being with the Communist Party (CP), USA, was booed and shouted down as a "revisionist" and, in fact, was never able to make whatever point he had intended. Mike Klonsky castigated this individual and asked, "Why did you (CP, USA) sell out the black people for 30 years?"

It was noted that those in attendance were openly hostile to the CP, USA and in particular the Soviet Union, which is regarded as an imperialist power.

The National Council (NC), SDS meeting, was held on March 29 and 30, 1969, at the Catholic Youth Center in Austin, Texas. It appeared that approximately 800 persons attended the plenary sessions and of this, approximately 100 were delegates. It was observed that at the most, only 10 black persons were in attendance at this meeting.

Tim Mc Carthy of the National Office staff, chaired all of the sessions on March 29 and 30.

Saturday, March 29, 1969

The first order of business was reports from the three National Secretaries, the first speaker being Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary.

Gordon stressed the relationship of the working class and youth and presented the formulation that after students leave the college and university level, they then become a part of the working class (even though they may be in a professional status). Gordon concluded that the youth are oppressed, both because they are a part of and about to be a significant part of the working class.

Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-Organizational Secretary, based her discussion on the Black Panther Party (BPP), stating that the BPP is the vanguard of the national anti-imperialism struggle going on today in this country. She also aligned the struggle of the BPP as analogous to the struggle of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of Vietnam, as both struggles are struggles for self-determination and struggles against imperialist.

These points by Dohrn were stressed over and over again by various speakers at this council meeting.

Mike Klonsky, National Secretary, stated that Dohrn had given his speech but then elaborated on the fact that the NLF is not selling out the people of Vietnam, and he specifically criticized PLP for not supporting the NLF as they are fighting a people's war. Klonsky stated that in not supporting the NLF or the BPP, it amounts to a racist policy and counterrevolutionary in nature.

Klonsky stated that a "Marxist-Leninist movement" must be built. He stressed this point but did not call for a party, but rather used the word movement in expressing his idea.

Mike Spiegel then presented a report for the Credentials Committee, indicating that there were six or seven requests for chapter membership. He stated that only two of these are being contested because the records of the National Office failed to indicate that these requests have the required five national members necessary before chapter status may be given.

He also announced that there were certain chapters who were to appear before the Credentials Committee to resolve delegate controversies: it appeared that probably eight or nine chapters were involved in such controversies.

At this time the meeting was halted in order for delegates to obtain their delegate passes and in order for the chapter controversies to be ruled on by the Credentials Committee.

When the meeting was reconvened, the first order of business was taken up, that being the question of "racism". It is noted here that PLP felt the Schools Proprosal would be considered with the racism question but this was ruled out of order by Tim Mc Carthy. The five proposals on racism were presented in the following order.

First Proposal

Ed Jennings of the Chicago Region, SDS. and the University of Illinois Circle Campus, read the first proposal which was furnished to the attendees in the following form:

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TOWARD THE LIBERATION OF THE COLONY

(Draft of a resolution to be presented at the March National Council meeting, by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

The sharpest struggles in the world today are those of the oppressed nations against imperialism and for national liberation. Within this country the sharpest struggle is that of the black colony for its liberation; it is a struggle which by its very nature is anti-imperialist and increasingly anti-capitalist. The demand for self-determination for the black colony -- a demand which arises from the most oppressed elements within the black community -- is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist insofar as it challenges the power of the ruling class. Furthermore the black liberation movement consciously identifies with and expresses solidarity with the liberation struggles of other oppressed peoples.

Within the black liberation movement the vanguard force is the Black Panther Party. Their development if an essentially correct program for the black community -- as exemplified by the ten points -- and their ability to organize blacks around this program has brought them to this leadership. An especially important part of the Panther program is the Black Peoples' Army -- a military force to be used not only in the defense of the black community but also for its liberation. Given the military occupation of the black community it is especially true that "without a peoples' army the people have nothing." A second important part of their program is their efforts to organize black workers. They are increasingly moving into the factories and shops, i.e., Panther caucuses, Black Labor Federation, etc. It is important for us to understand that the black worker is not only a "subject" in an oppressed colony fighting for its liberation, but that he is also a member of the working class. Thus the black worker as a result of this dual oppression will play the vanguard role not only in the black liberation movement, but also in uniting and leading the whole working class in its fight against

oppression and exploitation.

The fundamental reason for the success of the Black Panther Party is that it has a correct analysis of American society. They see clearly the colonial status of blacks and the dual oppression from which they suffer; national oppression as a people and class exploitation as a super-exploited part of the working class. The demand for self-determination becomes the most basic demand of the oppressed colony, and nationalism becomes a necessary and effective means for organizing the black community and forging unity against the oppressor.

We must be very clear about the nature of nationalism. If the principal contradiction in the world today is that of the oppressed nations against imperialism, then support for these revolutionary national movements becomes the most important criterion for dividing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries (and revisionists). To say that "in the name of nationalism, the bourgeoisie of all nations do their reactionary and dirty work" is to obscure the reality that in the name of national liberation the workers and peasants of all oppressed nations will struggle against and defeat imperialism. To say that "all nationalism is reactionary" is objectively to ally with imperialism in opposition to the struggles of the oppressed nations.

But nationalism is not always revolutionary. There is a fundamental difference between revolutionary nationalism which is "dependent upon a people's revolution" and reactionary nationalism in which the "end goal is the oppression of the people." What do the Panthers say about the reactionary, cultural or "pork-chop" variety of nationalism:

> "We must destroy all cultural nationalism, because it is reactionary and has become a tool of Richard Milhaus Nixon, and all the U.S. power structure which divides the poor and oppressed, and is used by the greasy-slick black bourgeoisie to exploit black people in the ghetto."

George Mason Murray
Minister of Education

The Black Panther Party is under no illusion that liberation for the black colony can be achieved while capitalism still exists. Their call for liberation in the colony revolution in the mother country clearly recognizes the dialectical relationship between liberation for the black colony and socialist revolution for the whole society.

> "Its impossible for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialist system within the black community we're saying its also going to have to exist in the white community."
>
> Bobby Seale
> Chairman

The correct and uncompromising leadership which the Black Panther Party has brought to the black liberation movement has brought down the most vicious repression from the racist pig power structure. When the leading black revolutionary group is continually harassed, its leaders jailed, hounded out of the country and brutally assassinated, when Panther members daily face the provocations of the ruling class and its racist pigs, when their blood has been spilled and their list of revolutionary martyrs -- Huey, Eldridge, Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins -- increases daily, then the time has come for SDS to give total and complete support to their defense efforts. To do less would be a mockery of the word "revolutionary". We must continually expose and attack the role of the pigs and the courts in oppressing the black community. We must publicize the inhuman, brutal and unjust nature of "justice" in this society.

We see clearly the need to join with the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary black groups in the fight against national chauvinism and white supremacy. The development of the Panthers as a disciplined and militant group fighting for black liberation has had a tremendous impact on the white radical movement. We longer

can we refuse to deal with the chauvinism and white supremacy which exists in both the larger society and in our movement. Toleration of any vestige of white supremacy in the schools, shops and communities must be seen as nothing less than "scabbing" on the black liberation movement and on possibilities for unity of the working class.

SDS declares

--its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony

--its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure

--its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy

--its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.

IMPLEMENTATION:

--Form Newton-Cleaver Defense Committees--The Black Panther Party has requested that SDS join in setting up these committees. Huey P. Newton is "the key political prisoner in this country at the present time." The committees should first raise money for the defense of Newton, Cleaver and all other Panthers facing charges and second, educate the people about the real nature of "justice" in this racist society.

--The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the history, development and programs of the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups. Information about the repression directed against the black community should be kept up to date and distributed. Literature about the history of the black colony and its 400 years of unending struggle

against oppression should be produced.

--The NC should be mandated to print and distribute information about the organizing of black workers. This would include Panther organizing in the factories, DRUM, and other revolutionary black unions.

--This resolution should stimulate chapters and regions to develop and/or strengthen informal relationships with the Panthers. We must keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is not fighting black people's struggles only but is in fact the vanguard in our common struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

--This resolution should be seen as a formal repudiation of the resolution--"Smash Racism: Build a Worker-Student Alliance" which was passed at the December NC. This previous resolution with its refusal to recognize the colonial oppression of blacks in this country, its statement that nationalism is "the main ideological weapon of the ruling class" within the black liberation movement and its inability to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary is at best non-revolutionary. SDS must not be on record as supporting any resolution which considers revolutionary nationalism--the main factor which ties all oppressed nations together in their fight against imperialism--as a "weapon of the ruling class". Anything less than complete repudiation of this previous resolution is a cop-out on the support and solidarity which we must give to the world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

Ed Jennings - Chicago Circle
Campus SDS

The foregoing proposal by Jennings was considered to be one of the key points in the entire NC meeting because of the last paragraph which contains a formal repudiation of the Workers Student Alliance Line of PLP. This proposal received a great deal of discussion from the floor by PLP advocates and those opposing PLP, and it is noted that both Bernardine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky spoke in behalf of the proposal and that Rick Rhoades of the New York PLP spoke against the proposal. The proposal was passed by a vote of 95 to 80.

Second Proposal

This proposal was presented by a white male, five feet, eleven inches tall, 170 pounds, long hair, who was a student at San Francisco State. The proposal he presented was furnished to the attendees in the following printed form:

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Today the world-wide system of U.S. Imperialism is under attack by scores of national liberation movements throughout the world. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are organizing to deal a death blow to Imperialism. We as SDS continue to affirm our stand on the side of the people struggling for national liberation.

Recently, the focus of attention within the student movement has shifted to the struggle for Third World liberation within the United States. Vanguard groups in the black, Latino, Puerto Rican, Chinese and American Indian communities, have formed and are organizing their people to confront Imperialism in its home base. The demands of these Third World liberation movements center around the concept of self-determination and control over all institutions that affect their given community. On the campuses these movements have demanded control over the university as it relates to their community in terms of ethnic studies and increased admissions of Non-white students. Thus, the struggles for national liberation within the internal neo-colonies conflict directly with the plans of the imperialist ruling class. The ruling class plans to use the internal neo-colonies for cheap labor and cannon fodder to defend imperialism. In order to accomplish this task an elite of phony nationalists is needed within the Third World community. The university is the key institution in this strategy of pacification because it is set up to pick a handful of Third World people and produce this elite group of "educated leaders" to lead the "uneducated masses." The junction of such an elite is to serve as ideological policemen for the ruling class and prevent revolutionary nationalists from gaining the allegiance of the Third World community. As the ruling class loses the battle for the allegiance of the youth in the Third World community whose heroes are Huey Newton and Malcolm X, not Ralph Bunch and Edward Brooke, one section of the ruling class will search desperately for some 'acceptable nationalist' to support. These attempts to co-opt the struggle for self-determination will fail so long as the revolutionary nationalists remain firmly committed in their struggle for total liberation, just as the 'nationalist alternative' of the Diem-Ky clique

has failed to stop the growth of the NLF. This attempt to prop up phony nationalists does not change the essential revolutionary nature of a national liberation struggle waged against U.S Imperialism.

In distinguishing between phony (cultural or pork-chop) nationalists and revolutionary nationalists, there are at least 3 clear distinctions. Revolutionary nationalists call for and support:

1. Revolutions against imperialism among all Third World people at home and abroad.

2. A redistribution of wealth and power away from the local bourgeoisie and the white ruling class and toward the working class and unemployed.

3. A revolution in the mother country for the same purpose.

These national liberation struggles raise the important question of the relationship of SDS to the question of nationalism as a form of struggle within a larger bourgeois nation state. Progressive Labor Party and the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus both claiming to speak for the "politics of the S.F. State Strike" have offered the view that these struggles are only national in form but are only national in form but are really strictly class in content. This is an incorrect, simplistic view because it assumes that the exploitation of third world people is simply a more intense form of working class oppression. This overlooks the totality of economic, political and social oppression of third world people that extends far beyond their status as workers. It's one thing to be robbed of your labor by the capitalists, but to be robbed of your labor and treated as a sub-human by the dominant culture is a qualitatively different experience. For, the exploitation of third world people includes far more than being robbed of surplus value. They are exploited psychologically and culturally from a system that deliberately tries to rob them of their manhood and womanhood. Further, within the neo-colonies third world are subject to super-exploitation as consumers and this exploitation is coupled with the occupation of their communities by a white power

structure of capitalists and racist police that deprives people of even their "democratic rights" under the constitution. The entire system of exploitation in the neo-colony is a qualitatively different experience than that of the white working class community and out of this unique exploitative condition arises the need for and driving force behind revolutionary nationalism. Thus, unlike the trade union movement which is raising demands of higher pay and better treatment from the system, the third world liberation movement is demanding total liberation from the system of capitalist production. "We believe that if the white businessman cannot give full employment then the means of production should be taken from the businessman and placed in the community so the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people to give them a high standard of living" (Black Panther Party). Thus, the third world liberation movement will not simply tailend into a trade union movement. The eventual unity between a socialist movement and the national liberation movement in the third world neo-colonies will depend upon the commitment made by the revolutionary white workers and students THAT THE THIRD WORLD PEOPLE WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO ANY AUTHORITY NOT OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT MUST COMMIT ITSELF TO SUPPORTING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THIRD WORLD PEOPLE IN THE MANNER THEY DECIDE (i.e. Panther referendum in the black neo-colony.)

The role of SDS is clearly to lead the struggle in the white community to support and defend the revolutionary nationalist movement in the neo-colonies. Our job is to convince white students to ally themselves with the struggle for national liberation. We should present the issue to students as a choice between supporting Imperialism which has a need to exploit people and nations and socialism which does not depend on exploitation. This is where the question of which class will hold power in the white community becomes crucial for only in a socialist America can third world people firmly secure self-determination as defined by the Panthers as "all power to the people."

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); ET AL

After a good deal of discussion, the proposal was passed, although the general complaint from the floor was that they could not understand what the speaker was driving at and because of this, only a portion of the statement was accepted.

Third Proposal

This proposal was presented by Bruce Allen of the Harvard-Radcliffe SDS and was the main PLP proposal presented in the NC. The proposal, which was received by the attendees in printed form, was as follows:

BUILD A WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

The main contradiction in the world is between the U.S. imperialist ruling class, its lackies, and the oppressed classes everywhere led by the international working class. As Marx said: THE WORKERS HAVE NO COUNTRY. In the U.S., that contradiction manifests itself primarily as one between the ruling class and the working class. The very existence of that ruling class depends on its ability to maximize its profits by exploiting all workers, and, most important, super-exploiting non-white workers. Imperialism could not continue to exist without racism, which was founded on the super-exploitation of Black workers and developed as a superstructure of racist ideas and practices among whites, serving only the interests of the ruling class. All questions must be looked at from the point of view of class - the international working class. This holds for the contradictions between Black and white, between men and women, and even between youth and age. Without the leadership of working-class ideas, no real victory can be won against the ruling class.

This position is opposed to the one put forth by some people in the movement that the main contradiction in the world today is not between classes but between nations: the oppressed nations and the white oppressor nation. To make these "colonial" or "national" contradictions primary, or of equal importance to class contradiction, is to deny the importance of working class leadership. Nationalism is a reactionary ideology, or as Lenin said, "Marxism and nationalism are unreconcileable.": it places all classes on an equal footing within the nation, and hence cedes leadership (especially given the arrayed power of imperialism which backs it) to the economically powerful - the bourgeoisie. National liberation movements which are genuinely anti-imperialist can win temporary victories, especially by raising demands which are in the interests of the working class and the peasantry. In the course of such struggles, however, working class forces must fight against nationalist ideology, exercise true leadership, and make explicit the class contradictions within the anti-imperialist struggle. Otherwise, even the best struggles can be turned around and defeated.

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(For instance, the magnificent struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism has been turned around. French imperialism now exploits Algerian workers and peasants as viciously as ever.)

There are two roads, leading in opposite directions, being put forth in SDS. One is revisionist. that is, while maintaining a left veneer of militancy and working class rhetoric, it robs revolutionary ideas of their revolutionary content. The followers of this road pay lip service to class struggle, but in practice play the ruling class' game of organizing people to fight on the basis of anything but class, e.g., sex, nation, age.

The other road is for a worker-student alliance against imperialism--that is, putting forth demands in the interests of all workers and students, and always focusing on the ruling class and their ideas within the movement as the enemy of all oppressed people. This is the road we must follow. In building this anti-imperialist movement we should fight against all division and special oppression of non-white workers and students, on the basis that these ruling class practices are never in the class interest of workers and most students. For instance, the demand for preferential hiring of Black workers is not a nationalist demand made on whites--it is a workers' demand made on the bosses. Only the bosses benefit from the special oppression of black workers, which they use to divide all workers, and hinder them from fighting back. To view the demand for preferential hiring as an antagonistic struggle within the working class--by Black workers against "white-skin privilege"--shows from an anti-working class outlook, and will never lead to the defeat of racism. This revisionist view sees white workers, not the boss, is the enemy and does not recognize that the primary need of all workers is for unity in struggle against the boss.

RACISM

A key task in the student movement today is the struggle against racism. It is crucial that this struggle be carried out in a pro-working class, anti-imperialist

manner. This means raising demands that oppose the many ways the university attacks Black workers and students, e.g., racist courses, university expansion into Black working class neighborhoods, wage and hiring discrimination against Black university workers. For example, at Harvard, SDS fully supported a successful struggle led by Black students to stop a course designed to train students in the theory and practice of "riot control". In building white student support for this struggle, it was necessary to fight against many racist ideas and practices, e.g., the idea that "riots" or "disorders" are the problem, not the tremendous oppression of Black workers; or that the Black students were wrong to violate "academic freedom". Racism is rampant on college campuses today. It is used to lurk beneath a cover of liberalism. But that has generally been torn away. The university is a main perpetrator of racism through its training of teachers and other mental workers. We must attack racist ideas and racist super-exploitation by building pro-Black workers struggles against the administration and the whole ruling class.

The revisionist approach is to raise demands that are themselves an attack on Black workers, such as Black Studies Departments under student "control", Black administrators, Black student judiciaries, etc. These demands, while they may allow us to challenge racist ideas (so does the demand for Black cops), and carry a facade of militancy, are in essence nothing but anti-working class, nationalist, student power demands. Rather than attacking the way the university hurts working people, these demands "reform" the university by making it a more effective oppressor of Black workers. Many honest and militant people in their desire to fight racism in these struggles. These people should be our allies. But it would be paternalistic, dishonest and opportunist for us to support bad demands. All around the country the ruling class is increasingly seeing the wisdom of building struggles for Black studies which will study Black workers the same way the rest of the university studies white workers: in order to keep them oppressed. (Note that Nixon espoused Ethnic Studies

in his recent speech on "student disorders": and the Christian Science Monitor reported that 2?3 Black Studies Departments are being set up largely at the instigation of school administrators, aided by money from the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford Foundations.)

Because the vast majority of Black people are workers and because Black workers are the most oppressed, Black working people are playing the leading role in building an anti-imperialist working class movement. Black Studies Departments are designed to propagate nationalism not only among Black students, but among Black workers as well.

The Coleman proposal seems to fight racism on a class basis, in that it seems to attack student power. However, he attacks only one aspect of student power: "Demands for more participation for students in school administrative committees may simply mean that students want more power to maintain their class privilege." In other words, demands for "revolutionary" student power--power to make good decisions rather than bad ones--are not attacked at all. What Coleman doesn't raise is that the ruling class, backed up by government apparatus of courts, cops, jails, etc., controls the schools in its own interests, and will continue to do so as long as it is the ruling class. Talk of schools that serve the people-under imperialism- is not revolutionary ot all. It is fantasy. Thus Coleman supports the straight student power demands for student courts (part 9 of demand #10) and student assemblies to run the entire school (part 10 of demand #10). Neither Black students nor Black workers are served by being led up this blind alley!

ROTC AND WAR

In struggles against the war--such as anti-ROTC struggles--it is crucial to fight in the interests of the international working class. ROTC should go because it provides officers to be used against revolutions abroad, and Black rebellions and strikes at home. The existence of ROTC is not an aberration, but part of the necessary and consistent policy of every university under imperialism--to attack workers and serve the ruling class.

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The revisionist approach (taken for instance in the Militarization conglomerate proposal at the Princeton, N.J. conference) says that workers and students in this country actually benefit from imperialism, except when oppressed people fight back, and U.S. workers and students have to fight and pay for U.S. imperialist wars (that is, when "militarization" is taking place). In the student movement, this position leads to the equation "imperialism-militarization." Struggles against ROTC become, objectively, struggles for campus autonomy and purity. ("Smash the military machine in the schools!") This argument plays into the liberal view that what is really wrong in this country is the increasing influence of the military. Furthermore, by denying that "peaceful" Imperialism is against the interests of workers and students, this position gives students no reason to demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam other than a romantic "identification" with the NLF "not as students but as radicals". (PNJ) In practice, this line supports negotiations, which are for "peace," not for victory for the Vietnamese people. By building struggles for campus autonomy, and by giving no basis for a pro-working class line, this approach serves the ruling class, consolidating students' elitist, anti-working class ideas.

SUPPORTING WORKERS' STRUGGLES

A third major thrust in building a pro-working class student movement should be allying students directly with the struggles of working people. One form this should take is strike support. Students in Providence, for example, are playing a significant role in the strike of 800 Outlet Department store workers by helping with the day-to-day work of the strike (manning picket lines, distributing leaflets, talking to student scabs, turning away customers, etc.) In the context of this work, students have been able to raise the issues of racism and the Vietnam war to masses of workers. They have been making these ideas the property of the class that can and will lead the struggle to defeat U.S. Imperialism.

Another form is exemplified by a struggle at Queens College where SDS prevented GE from recruiting on the basis that GE is racist and was viciously attacking its workers. This was tied to a recent walkout of GE

workers, which Queens SDS supported. (It is interesting to note that in the course of this struggle three SDS members were suspended by a student judiciary board.)

A third form for such campaigns is the Work-In. Students should enter this project with two purposes: first, to raise political issues with workers, in particular the question of racism and second, to learn from the people and from their own on-the-job experiences the nature of the U.S. ruling class' exploitation and the need to fight it.

As with any issue, there is also a revisionist approach to supporting the struggles of working people. Some SDS members on the west coast, for example, have been supporting a strike by Standard Oil workers by allying with the revisionist union leadership which has been selling out union struggles for decades, rather than trying to make ties with the rank and file workers. Such leadership has invariably failed to elevate the level of workers' struggles, it has never raised political issues sharply and brought revolutionary ideas to the people. For "revolutionaries in SDS to ally with the union leadership rather than raising with workers the need to smash it, is opportunist and economist. (Econonism refers to the practice of "revolutionaries who do not fight in trade union struggles to raise the level of understanding beyond the t.u. level. It does not refer to the just material demands made by workers.)

The on-campus form of this pro-ruling class approach is the elitism expressed in the "May Day Proposal." This proposal, which makes an undocumented and untrue attack on the "economism" of WSA advocates, says that students' anti-working class ideas come out in the belief that workers "will never form the guts of an anti-imperialist. anti-capitalist movement." This is itself an anti-working class idea. There can be no powerful anti-imperialist movement until workers understand their need to smash imperialism; that is, until workers are the brains--as well as the guts--of that movement. This elitist approach denies the fact that workers are primary and that a revolutionary understanding of imperialism lies in and must be drawn from their experience and posits instead that we as student radicals will lead the revolution. On campus, this approach led to a struggle at the University of Connecticut at Stoers where a few

students launched a Debrayist attack on a recruiter in order to purge the campus of capitalism. They established no ties with workers or the masses of students, and built the idea that capitalism on campus consists of channeling students into managerial positions.

In the long run, this revisionist, elitist approach can only build a counter-revolutionary student movement.

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

Finally, in all our struggles against the ruling class, we must keep in mind that sweet reason alone will not suffice. Mass revolutionary violence is necessary to win any real concession from the ruling class. The destruction of human life and dignity brought on by Imperialism cannot be defeated in the courts through "legal resistance". Nor can it be fought by isolated, terrorist attacks. Imperialism will fall only through massive, violent, sharp struggle in which the working, which has the most need and the most power to fight, is the main and leading force. The liberals cry that our struggle will only bring on fascist repression. We won't be scared into not fighting back. As SF State has shown, thousands of students, with pro-working class politics, can be won to fighting heroically against the cops, against the class enemy of all oppressed people.

BUILD THE WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE
SMASH RACISM

Bruce Allen, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS
Laura Anker, Brown SDS
Alan Gilbert, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS, PLP
Debby Israel, Brandeis SDS

This main proposal by PLP was defeated, which constituted a major defeat by PLP at the NC meeting and in conjunction with the first proposal, which received an affirmative vote, indicated the direction of the NC meeting as pertains to the SDS-PLP factional fight.

Fourth Proposal

This proposal was read but not discussed, nor was it voted upon. The following represents the form in which it was furnished to the attendees at the NC meeting.

BLACK DEMANDS AND CLASS DEMANDS IN WORKER STRUGGLES

We are approaching a critical period in American history. In the next few years we may see the development of fighting working class movements launching huge struggles challenging the present capitalist system, or we may witness a race war fought by white and black workers against each other, while the ruling class escapes the brunt of the growing pressures. The American working class is deeply troubled and the situation is intensifying.

We see danger all around us that turmoil within the white working class is being deflected by the ruling class and its minions against the blacks: the teachers in New York pitting themselves against the black community; Reuther playing off skilled white auto workers against the largely black assemblyline workers. We see the cry growing amongst white workers (as well as middle class whites): "The niggers are getting everything!" We see the enormous response Wallace got for a period of time amongst young white workers. As the material pressures against the working class accelerate, so does the danger that whites will view the black upsurge as the threat causing them to lose money, purchasing power, job security and the like.

The disease of racism pervades the entire fabric of capitalist America. It is an ideological mechanism which divides the working class while helping to maintain oppression and superexploitation of one part of that class--the black and other third world workers. The superstructure of racism does not consist merely of myths and prejudices. Short term material interests and threats operate as well. The white worker who has not achieved a heightened class consciousness is driven by the system to view the demands and aspirations of blaks as a challenge to his wage standards, a threat to his job seniority, and a block to his aspirations for social mobility.

Out entire movement understands that modern racism under capitalism is rooted in systems need to maximize profit. Poverty level wages in one section pressure the entire working class to a lower wage than it otherwise could achieve. Cheaply paid black labor not only results in super profits, but acts as a threat to

the wages of others should they press for "too much." The reserve army of unemployed acts as a pressure on the job security and wage level of the white workers. Further, the divisions between black and white labor caused by racism has been a major weapon in the hands of the ruling class to prevent proletarian unity which would constitute a real challenge to its social, political, and economic power.

Since the struggles against racial oppression is the most intensely expressed social conflict in the country today and since the oppression and superexploitation of black and other third world workers does, in the long term sense, fundamentally harm the interest of the class as a whole, many in our movement conclude that white workers can (and should) be organized under the banner of anti-racism. Seeing myths and prejudices the only barrier to class unity, they advocate a form of liberal evangelizing as the best way to fight racism. Let us use a quote from the PL Backed Worker Student Alliance tendancy document: "Fight Racism--Build a Worker Student Alliance--Smash Racism." to disprove their own point.

"To unite Black and White people against racist practices of the class enemy is the only way to defeat racism. This must be concretely applied to specific struggles, as in the recent series of wildcat strikes of Black and White workers led by Black caucuses (e.g. REA, steel)..." PL leaflet.

The reason white workers were willing to follow the black caucus leadership was not because the fight was waged on the grounds of racism, but because demands were raised which were in the immediate self-interest of white as well as black workers. Anti-racism is not learned by convincing the working class that racism is bad, but as a byblow of whites working together with blacks in a struggle for goals materially meaningful to both.

It is accepting a middle class liberal myth to believe that abstract education against racism can solve the problem of racism. Workers who are not actively struggling in their own self-interest as workers become cynical and conservative. The willingness to participate actively in the class struggle is a prerequisite to the consciousness that the short-term material threats and advantages which divide white workers from their black brothers, keep down whites as well as blacks. It is a dangerous myth that today, the overwhelming bulk of the white working class is willing to fight under the

ba[illegible] of anti-racism.

Does this mean that we should not consistently and vigorously press on the question of racism? Does this mean we advise black caucuses to tone down their militant programs demanding an end to racism? Absolutely not.

Black groups now lead the militant struggles in the factories--you do not ask militants to reduce their militancy to the common denomination. You work rather, to encourage that additional demands be raised--demands with immediate material meaning to both the black caucus's own constituency and to the white workers as well. Thereby white workers because they are attracted to the benefits of collaboration on an immediate material basis accept black co-struggle and even leadership--and the particular black demands--as part of the struggle for their common good. At first this may be grudging and hesitant, but it potentially can lead to interracial fraternity on a class-conscious basis.

The point of view opposite to that of PL, put forward in its most extreme and consistent form by the NY and Philadelphia Labor Committees, is equally incorrect. In analysing the "Worker-Student Alliance" document, they more or less accurately point out that PL's position of confining struggles to black demands alone accelerates the danger of white workers viewing the struggle as being directed against them. Thus, success in pressing PL's position tends to prevent class unity and encourage intraclass race war.

However, the Labor Committee position has the same effect for its subordinates the black struggle to the immediate level of consciousness and militancy of the white portion of the working class. If the white working class under the beneficent guidance of the Labor Committee were to counterpose as they suggest "class" demands to the specific black demands, the reaction would be and has been volatile and directed against the white working class rather than the ruling class. The position paper states "For a revolutionary socialist there are no such things as 'black demands' or 'white demands' or 'student demands'. There are only class demands."

This is a classically sectarian point of view and like most sectarian points of view it lands you in the camp of reaction. Let us demonstrate this by analogy. Guy Mollet and the French Social Democrats (SFIO) carried on the war against Algerian independence on

the grounds that they were opposed to nationalism because they were socialist internationalists. After all, Algerians and Frenchmen should be united, etc, etc. The analogy is not exact, no analogy is. The point we wish to make is that raising an ultimate demand to drown an immediate demand serves not a class interest or the ultimate demand to drown an immediate demand serves not a class interest or the ultimate interest by the maintenance of the status quo.

The Labor Committee points out that the black demand, for example, of unlimited admission for blacks to universities is bad in that it would mean that blacks would be admitted at the expense of working class whites. "On the other hand, if the demand is for unlimited admission of all working class students, then it becomes a class demand, not a "black" demand.

We suggest the opposite is true, we are for the black demand of open admissions of white working class youth, indeed for all youth. And wecall for a vastly expanded university system. We do not submerge the black, attack it, etc. We welcome it for its won sake and because it can be catalytic to raising the level of struggle among whites. Concretely, if the black movement were not raising its demard now neither we nor the Labor Committee would have the opening to voice the general demands.

Once again to submerge the struggles to the level of the less militant is to side with reaction. This was demonstrated in practice in the support the Labor Committee gave the NYC UFT strike against the black community.

What if black caucuses raise demands which are clearly aimed at other workers and are therefore in the interest of the bosses? We should oppose them directly while pointing out why--not from the vantage point of protecting whites as whites but from the vantage point of the interest of the class as a whole. A more difficult task will be opposing demands of white workers aimed at hurting blacks. If and when we criticize specific black demands it must be within the context of support to their movement and in defense of their right to make what in our opinion are their own mistakes.

The advent of strong blackorganizations in the shops cannot be underestimated. They are beginning to play a crucial role. DRUM, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, specifically traces its roots in the Black Power movement and says that it learned that

The way to organize the community was by organizing the work place. Communities, ghettoes, slums are by nature of the capitalism which creates them, atomizing institutions designed to turn inhabitant against inhabitant, neighbor against neighbor. The work place, the point of production organizes workers by its nature, consolidates them points to [illegible] class enemies. The presence of black caucuses in auto, steel, and other heavy industries is a harbinger of the future.

Are we sure that black consciousness will culminate in class consciousness. No, we are not at all sure. No social struggle has a guarantee to succeed. But we know that the present struggle can go in one of two directions--toward a class conscious and allied working class or tward an intra-class fraternal war benefitting only the rulers.

White revolutionaries can have an effect on this choice. If we are able to forge links with the working class, if our movement can inspire, lead, aid, catalyze, detonate in a progressive direction, then it can have real meaning. This can only be done with a program that supports black consciousness from a critical stance of furthering the content of that movement that presses in a class direction. Our urge is not to counterpose class-wide demands to black demands, but to add class demands leaving the blacks to control their own demands. Where blacks testing their leadership capabilities and new found sense of strength raise demands we should not seek to submerge them. Now is the stage to promote unity, not uniformity.

Failing to use the catalytic effect of black upsurges to stimulate parallel developments among whites on issues that have material significance to both means to abandon hope for the white working class. It means in addition that in a troubled and polarizing situation right-wingers will raise some of the very demands workers want raised. They will do so in an utterly demagogic fashin and twist them into racist attacks on black workers fighting for their own interests. Abandonment of class-wide demands will result not just in a set back, but in reaction.

If for example a black demand is raised for jobs in a particular factory of all blacks who apply and if this demand is not extended to a program guaranteeing full employment for all

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through out society then intra-class collision is fore-ordained.

The object of a class-wide demand is to raise the horizon of struggle. If the ruling class can limit the fight all is lost.

Mike Urquhart - East Bay at Large - ISC
(Independent Socialist Club)
Jack [illegible] - East Bay at Large - ISC
Loren Goldner - East Bay at Large - ISC
Joe [illegible]ener - New York - ISC
Bob Speck - Fayetteville, Arkansas - ISC

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
[illegible]

Fifth Proposal

This proposal was presented by a white male, tall, slender, with a red beard, who reportedly was not an SDS member, but rather represented an African Research Group. This proposal was passed, but without extensive debate. The following represents the printed form in which it was furnished to the attendees at the NC meeting.

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SUPPORT THE GUERRILLA STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Whereas:

SDS correctly recognizes US imperialism as the most repressive, anti-democratic international force. Likewise, we recognize that our struggle in the US must move toward solidarity with revolutionary movements abroad. SDS has characteristically assumed a leading role in the denunciation of and resistance to racism and [illegible] both domestically and abroad. SDS participation in action directed against American supporters of apartheid has included educational programs, boycotts, confrontations, etc. (The March '69 conference on Southern Africa held at Cornell University and the following stopping of Chase Manhattan recruiting being the most recent SDS programs.) SDS must formulate a strategy which can meet the needs of that liberation struggle. This strategy must take into account:

1. That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March, 1960 Sharpeville massacre; In particular, that it was US finance capital (especially Chase Manhattan and The Bank of America) which rushed to the immediate aid of South African racism.

2. That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totalling over $1 billion;

3. That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, i.e.)--particularly manu- [illegible] is the major example of US corporate [illegible] in this sector. [illegible] profit [illegible] is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for S.Af.-US exports;

4. That export production by US corporations based in South Af. exploits the working class in the US by weakening its position through competitive imports from these subsidiaries;

5. That the US is partner with the Republic of So. Af. in a co-imperialism designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;

6. That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid...

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not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to [illegible];

7. (This paragraph deleted per amendment from the floor.)

8. That the southward march of guerrillas presents the powers of western imperialism (especially the US expansionist policies) with the greatest contemporary threat to their (its) global hegemony. Much more than in Vietnam, revolutionary struggle in South and Southern Africa assails the economic, political and racial foundations of Western Civilization;

9. (This paragraph deleted per amendment from the floor.)

10. That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of Southern Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

Therefore, be it resolved:

That SDS adopt a program of struggle aimed at aiding the African revolutionary movements in their efforts to smash South African racism and fascism, educating the American public and ourselves, and making American corporate investments in So. Af. unprofitable.

1. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide assistance to revolutionary movements with which we can ideologically agree and which are engaged in armed struggle in Southern Africa if and when they should similarly request our assistance in the future;

2. SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential) in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;

3. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa. To this effect, we propose a massive struggle to line up the struggles against racism, imperialism and their root, capitalism.

This would be preceded by an education drive aimed at pointing out the theoretical validity of the above mentioned linkages, and stressing education through struggle through a concerted drive to prevent Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, and General Motors from recruiting on college campuses throughout the nation.

This program would also include a week long series of massive and militant international confrontations at Chase and Bank of America branches which would take place on June 26 (South African Freedom Day) which would demand the withdrawal of said investments.

The Inter-organizational Secretary would be mandated to attempt to get European Revolutionary organizations, the Japanese Zengakuren, etc., to participate in the program in their respective countries.

4. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the US. The possibility of a strike led by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers against GM - aimed at making that corporation pull out of South Africa - should be pursued. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the US.

from Bill Burnett, Goleta BEACH California sds and African Research Group.

Dave Burak, Ithaca-Cornell sds

The above completed the debate on racism and it was announced that the "School Proposal" resolution would be put off until the Sunday session, inasmuch as it was expected that the proposal would receive a great deal of debate.

The second item on the agenda was the educational packet prepared by the National Office and a censorship resolution introduced by PLP criticizing the National Office for this packet.

The educational packet consisted of materials on white supremacy and the black struggle for self-determination and was identified as being "compiled for the Spring NC" and was being issued for all SDS members and chapters for use in developing their educational programs. The contents of the educational packet were described as follows:

1. QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION: materials from SDS pamphlets on black liberation, the racism resolution passed at the Ann Arbor NC, and quotes from Marxists on the struggle for self-determination.

2. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM IN AMERICA: material on the history and development of white supremacy and the struggle for black liberation.

3. BLACK WORKERS LEAD: materials on the developing organization of black workers and varying responses to these groups.

4. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY: information about the vanguard party of the black colony and criticisms of the party from other groups.

Contained in the educational packet are the following statements which were reflective of statements made by the national leadership of SDS at this NC meeting and which, in effect, reflected national leadership policies with respect to questions

on racism. Some of the statements are as follows:

"To destroy white supremacy and to build a revolutionary movement, it is necessary to understand the historical roots of white supremacy and the history of the revolutionaries of black struggle in America for self-determination."

In another section of the educational packet, which contained the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), it also stated:

"The emergence of militant black leadership in the labor force is a significant leap forward in the class struggle. Knowledge about the developing black caucuses is a prerequisite for understanding how we must relate to a key revolutionary force."

Finally, the educational packet concludes specific information concerning the BPP and states:

"The Black Panther Party vanguard of the liberation struggle in the black colony has produced many improtant documents which explain their practices and perspective. Everyone should study the party's writings."

Included in this material are "excerpts from critism of the Panthers made by the Progressive Labory Party." It is this excerpt which inspired a censorship motion on the part of PLP, which was presented by Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary.

The censorship resolution calls for a censure of the National Office and that the educational packet be withdrawn specifically. This resolution states that the packet contained an article reprinted from PLP magazine on the BPP, which was excerpted in such a way as to totally distort its political position.

A counter proposal was made from the floor which in effect commended the National Office for the educational packet and called for a vote expressing commendation rather than censure.

On the subsequent votes, the PLP inspired censure resolution failed 113 to 7[illegible] and the proposal for commendation passed 100 to 80.

The relative strength of PLP and their factional fight with SDS was further displayed during this debate and indicated the strength of the SDS national leadership in combating PLP at this NC meeting.

The next order of business was the proposal introduction by Jeff Gordon of the New York PLP on the question of drugs. This proposal as presented to the council meeting in printed form is as follows:

DRUGS: ENSLAVER NOT LIBERATOR

The ruling class has been injecting increasing amounts of drugs into the high schools, colleges, ghetto communities, army and factories. They are doing this to: 1) turn people away from collective struggle against oppressive conditions around them; 2) give the cops a powerful tool to intimidate honest people and make agents of others; 3) make profits (drugs are a big industry). The mafia, police, city hall, high school principals, army officers, factory bosses, college deans, are all in the ruling class alliance to push drugs. Drug traffic increases sharply whenever and wherever anti-imperialist struggle begins. In high schools and the army, among working class youth, are two places where the counter-revolutionary effects of large drug traffic are evident. Drugs are, and have been historically, a drain on the fighting power of the people. Drug pushers, lackies of the ruling class, are leeches on the working class and have to be dealt with as such.

SDS must have an unequivocal position against drugs. Drugs are enslavers, not liberators. This is not to say that drug users are our enemies--in fact, quite the opposite. They are some of the very people who must be won to fight imperialism fully and to defeat their individualism and serve the people. Buty they cannot be won UNLESS we have an unequivocal position against drugs.

Those already politically active who use drugs must be won to understanding that this endangers their security and the security of the anti-imperialist movement, and is an aspect of escapism which has to be fought against.

Some supporters of the Revolutionary Youth Movement Proposal say that they are against drugs too, but feel we would isolate ourselves if we raised the question. An also, they advocate the organization in high schools of anti-narco squads. The combination of not coming out forcefully against drugs, along with organizing anti-narco squads is blatantly counter-revolutionary. It feeds the drug traffic and hurts the people. We have to throw all cops, including narcos and pushers, out of the schools and defeat drug traffic.

Many students who take drugs see it as progressive and as a part of their all-around development, dovetailing with the anti-imperialist struggles in which they participate. We feel that using drugs is not progressive at all and in fact, prevents the further development of those fights. While using drugs reflects dissatisfaction with a corrupt society, it does not oppose that corruption.

Drugs are harmful to anti-imperialist struggles in two major ways: 1) They help promote a selfish, escapist outlook which is in opposition to the liberation of the working class and its allies; 2) Drugs are used and promoted by the ruling class for those very reasons--to further its own ideology of selfishness, to push escapism and non-struggle and through these, consolidate its grip on students and workers.

The users of drugs develop a "do your thing" philosophy. This means that they expect to free themselves from the oppressive conditions of this society by individual acts instead of organizing along mass lines to change it. This is a manifestation of the culture that is passed down by the ruling class. Individualism is the ideology of bourgeoise capitalist society, i.e., serving oneself above serving the people.

While this attitude of self-serving and personal liberation underlies drug-taking, in actuality drugs are not even in the interest of the user. An individual cannot free himself under the present system. The society can only be changed through each person participating in collective struggles which fight and defeat the capitalist ruling class.

Drug taking feeds anti-communism by promoting individualism. Specifically we mean it feeds a lack of self-discipline, and an unwillingness to fight our own bourgeoise aspects.

Taking drugs allows the ruling class to play a double game--push drugs and then label student movements and SDS as drug movements, isolating them from the working class and many other people.

All over the world, drugs have been used to crush the potential of people's struggles. The British used opium to maintain colonial rule in China in the 19th Century. The Chinese fought the opium wars to end exploitation and the crippling dependence upon British supplied opium. In the Middle East, readily available hashish is used to numb people to their oppression. In the U.S., ten year old textile workers were paid in script redeemable for morphine. Once addicted, they were entirely dependent on the company to keep them supplied. Thus the bosses fostered dope addiction to maintain worker's dependence on them.

Drugs are one of the major weapons that the ruling class uses to maintain its relation of super-exploitation to black

workers and to prevent struggles from taking place. Therefore, a necessary part of supporting and allying with these struggles and fighting all aspects of racist exploitation, is opposition to the use of drugs in the student movement and exposing drugs as the weapon of the ruling class against all oppressed people.

All progressive movements around the world have always opposed drugs as a parasite on the back of oppressed classes.

As for the few, well publicized busts: 1) They keep up a facade that the ruling class is really against drugs, making the taking of drugs seem daring and revolutionary; 2) Those busts that do occur are either against those petty dealers who have not yet made deals with the cops, or against political activists. It is interesting that liberal administrators on campus are sympathetic to drug use and don't crack down on drugs. What they do crack down on is anti-imperialist politics. It is easy to see what the ruling class considers a threat to its interests.

IMPLEMENTATION:

1) This proposal be published in New Left Notes

2) The N.O. should be mandated to produce a pamphlet embodying the ideas of this proposal for wide distribution.

Jeff Gordon, NY SDS and PLP
Aaron Cohen, Univ. of Mass., Boston, SDS
Kay Waggoner, Columbia SDS
Roger Taus, Columbia SDS and PLP

In a discussion from the floor, a number of "anarchists", no more than seven or eight of them, attempted to give Gordon a bad time on this proposal, defending the use of drugs.

When the final vote was taken, the proposal lost, principally because it was introduced by PLP. It is believed that the proposal would have passed, had it been introduced by one of the SDS leaders as the general impression that SDS members have of "anarchists", "yippies" and drug users, is that they are "freaks". It is believed that the proposal was passed because it indicated a censorship of personal behavior.

This ended the introduction of proposals and subsequent debates thereof on Saturday.

On Sunday, March 30, 1969, the NC was reconvened at 1:30 p.m. The first order of business was the Schools Proposal, which was introduced by Les Coleman of the Chicago Region, SDS. The proposal, which was presented to the members, is as follows:

THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE

We live within a monster -- a monster of imperialism and racism that necessitates war, permanent militarization, the subjugation of women, the brutal oppression of the people of color of the world, and the inhuman exploitation of all working people. The cause of this monster is the class and colonial structure of the empire: the majority of people are maintained producing wealth they never share in and the nations of the third world bear the constant oppression and colonization of the white oppressor nation -- U.S. imperialism. Within this country there exist both class and colonial divisions--class divisions exploit working people of all colors and colonial divisions are at the basis of the special oppression of black and brown sectors of the population. It is this class and colonial basis of the system that we must challenge.

SCHOOLS MAINTAIN CLASS STRUCTURE

The whole education system now--from grade schools on up--is used to tie the allegiance of youth to the capitalist system by building an ideological army for the ruling class. SDS opposes this and it takes its stand against the class and colonialist functions of the education system. The schools cannot be made to serve the people, cannot be prevented from serving the capitalist class without a fight against the class. The capitalist class has never given up anything it needed to make the system function to their advantage unless they were forced to by the struggles of the people. This is still true today. The function of the education system cannot really be changed and the system made to serve the people, until the power of the whole capitalist class is challenged and destroyed. What we present here, in the following ten point program, is a summary of our general objective for the educational system. Our struggle to win these demands is only part of the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world and must contribute to the fight to end the monster and the state power which maintains all its aspects of class and colonial domination.

TEN POINT PROGRAM

1. We demand an end to the track system in the schools. The track system, the classification of students into "different levels" of study by racist, anti-working class tests and teachers,

is nothing but a way of maintaining class and colonial divisions in the society. Consignment to the lower tracks is nothing but a ticket to the army and then to low-paying jobs or unemployment in the ghetto. This unjust consignment falls systematically on working-class youth and heaviest on black and brown youth. We are committed to fighting and exposing the more subtle and hidden forms of tracking throughout all the schools in every way we can.

2. We demand an end to flunkouts and disciplinary expulsions. We want all who have been flunked out or kicked out to be readmitted, because school standards and authorities which are responsible to the power structure in this country have no legitimate human right to judge the people. Flunk-outs and expulsions are again systematically a way of maintaining working-class and expecially black and brown youth as the fighting force and lowest-paid labor force in the society. We want an end also to the regimentation--the school behavior rules, the dress codes, the cut system--which is meant to keep us from challenging the kind of education the system sees fit for our indoctrination.

3. We demand the teaching of history and social conditions of the people in this country which exposes the true injustice of this racist capitalist society and the just struggles of coloniz[ed] and exploited working people against injustice. We are more concerned that there be teachers who know people's history and know what is actually going on among the people than that we have teachers with fancy degrees. We demand an end to the politica[l] firing of teachers who do give us a new perspective.

4. We want the schools to directly serve the people where they now function like all corporations in this society to exploit and oppress the people. We demand that schools end cooperation with recruitment for those American corporations which rule and exploit the people, that they end the exploitation of surrounding communities through their control of real estate and urban renewal programs, and that they end the brutal and inhuman wage and working conditions oppression of school employees.

5. Our objective is that all people should be guaranteed an equal and decent education. Admission to higher education institutions now systematically excludes working class youth of all colors and this exclusion must be ended. We call immediately for the unlimited admission of black and brown students because we see that the special colonial oppression involved in their exclusions, and its acceptance by the majority of whites, is the foundation on which this corrupt system maintains itself. The white skin privileges is a false and unrealizable privilege for most white working class youth, but as long as it exists, as long as black and brown students are excluded because of the color of their skin and their national origins, we will never

build the strength and unity and power to get what we need.

6. We want decent truthful education paid for by the wealth of this country. Three per cent of the population controls 90% of the wealth of this country, and yet the labor of the majority of the people is what makes this country run. If a man works for a wage all his life he should be guaranteed that his children will have an education paid for by the wealth that he has helped to produce. Tuition increases tend to keep working people (especially black and brown people) from getting a decent education, and maintain the inequalities in the society. We demand free education and we oppose all tuition increases.

7. We call for an end to military recruitment in the schools, and an end to training and research institutes that serve the American military, including the internal occupational force--the police. We don't want any more police in the schools; we want ROTC and police institutes stopped immediately. Their permanent militarization of this country having its effects on all aspects of American life--on employment, on women, especially on youth--has been accomplished only to protect an empire based on the exploitation and colonization of the laboring people of the world. This militarization, therefore, cannot be said to serve the people, since it maintains the main enemy of the people of this country and the whole world--American imperialism.

8. We want an end to all forms of male supremacy in the schools. This ranges from the male supremacist content of courses and perspectives of instructors to the way women are counseled or tracked into the worst jobs and the most submissive roles in the society. The inequality of women, perpetrated throughout the entire education system, is a principal division of the power of the people to get what they need in the whole country and the source of the misery of over half the population.

9. We want a real understanding of the movement of national liberation and of communist countries which the U.S. government has committed us to life or death opposition against. We believe that anti-communism has been preached to us in order to maintain our participation and allegiance to an empire which benefits a very few and oppresses the people of the world. We want an end to these lies. We want courses taught accurately on Vietnam, Cuba and China. We want teachers who hold the point

of view that wars like the war in Vietnam are fought, not in the interests of the American people, but in the interest of a small class of businessmen to maintain an unjust and inhuman empire.

10. We support the ten point program of the Black Panther Party for BSA's on the campus. These demands, which summarize the struggle for survival and self-determination of the black people are just demands which this racist country has never supplied to black people. While some of the demands raised by the Panthers would be incorrect if raised by white students, the special colonial nature of black oppression makes demands for self-determination and community autonomy a matter of survival for blacks and should be supported. The black liberation struggle, of which the Black Panther Party is the true anti-capitalist leadership is the struggle to which all working people must be won if the oppressor class is to be defeated.

PART TWO: STRATEGIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE 10 POINT PROGRAM

The 10 points summarize our central objective in relation to the schools: to make the schools serve the people. They make it clear that the class and colonial domination of the capitalists must be changed before the schools can serve the people. Our objectives are therefore revolutionary objectives because they involve a challenge to the class and colonial basis of the society.

Our campus work has been marked by our failure to do extensive mass education. In most cases a small core in the chapter is responsible for the "Analysis" and it does not get taken to the people except during periods of action where it is tacked onto the issue at hand--a firing, a suspension, a demand of the BSA--in an abstract way which the mass of people do not grasp. Therefore, we must establish ourselves on the campus as fighting for a series of clear objectives and with general support for them before this or that action comes up.

Counterposed to these 10 points which challenge class and colonial privileges are the waves of so-called student power issues, which in content, aim to maintain false class privilege. Demands for more participation for students in school administrative committees may simply mean that students want more power to maintain their false class privilege: the

"privilege" to stay out of the army while working-class youth, especially black and brown youth, are forced to fight; their "privilege" of access to higher-paying jobs because of a meaningless college degree, and so on. While students may have been moved to student power fights in the past out of a genuine militancy and anger at the system, it is our task to draw the issues more sharply. The idea that students can be brought into a sustained struggle on a student power basis and then brought along to fight against the class and colonial nature of the university has proved overall to be wrong. If students come into a struggle in the interests of accepting false class privilege, they will not very quickly change to a struggle against that false privilege. The one who will fight class privilege would have done so initially if the issues had been correctly stated.

The "student power" strategy of establishing joint student-faculty-administration committees never gets us anywhere and creates the illusion of power which prevents us from building a movement. Because the schools oppress all the people, they must be made to serve the people, not just the students. Our principles should be clear! We don't demand power, we demand what we want and need and what is just and we show our real power in getting it. Our real power is to refuse those who control the schools something they need. Since they need the schools to go on functioning--serving as corporate enterprises, service stations of imperialism and perpetrating class and colonial divisions in the society--our power is to be able to keep the schools from functioning. If the schools won't give us what we justly demand, we will strike.

We do not say that the school should serve the students: we say that the schools should serve the people!

The key fight today is against white supremacy: this fight has been raised primarily by the black liberation movement, and for the most part still is. Because we incorrectly understand the nature of this fight we have sometimes talked about adding "white" demands onto the demands of black groups and attacked black student demands as "middle-class," etc.

All the objectives in this program are both anti-colonial and anti-capitalist. Clearly not all these demands would be raised in the same struggle. There is no more need to raise "other demands" in the context of a struggle around demands raised

by black or third world students. There is not only not a need, it is often incorrect 1) because loading issues on a struggle, is often opportunist, and 2) because it fosters the wrong idea that the demands of the black people for self-determination and equality are not demands in the interests of all working class people.

The black movement has a dual nature. Black people, kidnapped from their homeland and brought to this country, were the first victims of U.S. imperialism. Still, today, they are oppressed as a people, because they are black. Yet since the great majority of black people are workers, they are also an advanced component of U.S. working class struggles. The resistance of black people embodies elements of both external and internal confrontation with American imperialism. But both aspects of the black struggle are in the class interests of all working people, just as the struggle of the Vietnamese is in the class interest of all working people. Unless whites can be won to the support of black struggles in their national aspect, white national chauvinism--white support for the imperialist oppression of colored peoples--will not be overcome.

Finally, we see that as a revolutionary youth movement, we are fulfilling our revolutionary function in the schools through the ten point program. We are raising the class antagonisms in the society. We are trying to articulate the just class and anti-colonial demands of the youth in the schools and of the people that these schools exploit and oppress in the immediate school community and throughout the empire. We are trying to use our strength to advance these demands, these aspects of the class struggle. At the same time, we must prepare the people for the necessity of revolution. We must make it clear at every juncture that the education system cannot be made to serve the people while the capitalist class maintains state power and that it is only a unified working class that can make this country belong to and serve the people.

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); ET AL

Because this proposal had received so much attention, there was a great deal of discussion from the floor with objections mainly centered around the fact that the proposal did not present a clear cut class analysis and that Coleman was attempting to copy the BPP style with his ten points innumerated therein.

(In this connection, Coleman was accused of "tackism" which was used to mean that he tacked on a number of points without sufficient analysis or reason for continuing such points in the proposal.)

During this debate, the Schools Proposal was defended by Coleman, Klonsky and Dohrn, with Rick Rhoades of the New York PLP being the main opposing speaker. The debate concerning this proposal took most of the afternoon and when finally voted upon, was passed.

The next item on the agenda concerned the Southern Student Organizing Committee and the resolution on this question was presented by Fred Lacey of New Orleans. The proposal, which was presented to the attendees in printed form, is as follows:

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[illegible]UND SDS IN THE SOUTH

The growing development of a revolutionary movement in the south poses important questions concerning SDS's role in the South and its relationships with other groups, in particular, the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC). SSOC undoubtedly represents one of the ruling class's main efforts to build its kind of sutdent movement in the South.

SSOC has, from its inception, been funded by such sources as the Kennedy controlled Field Foundation, the Aaron E. Norman Fund, and the Taconic Foundation. It has always been dominated by a self-perpetuating group of staffed bureaucrats. If those were the only things that could be said against SSOC, that might be bad but not conclusive. What is conclusive is its bourgeois liberalism and its Southern exceptionalism ("Southern consciousness").

THE LIBERALISM OF SSOC: "Eventually in the South, workers will be organized into labor unions and the liberal (as opposed to radical) political coalitions now forming will have greater strength. The emergence of these new groupings will probably serve as somewhat of a buffer between us and the people we are fighting."--from "Community Organizing - What You Can Do 'Bout It" by Lyn Wells (SSOC staff), The Phoenix, 1:3, November 1968, page 3.

SSOC is basically a politically liberal organization. It sees liberalism as a progressive force in the South. The rise of bourgeois liberalism in the South will destroy the old system of plantation politics as well as create a more progressive political climate in which the "left" can grow, free of the harassment and persecution visited upon the "left" by the old-style Southern politicians. Leberalism is also seen as a useful organizing tool to win Southern white students to a broad movement which can then be "radicalized" by SSOC. SSOC is very much like the old St[illegible] forces in SDS -- their rhetoric is radical and occasionally revolutionary (at least when they talk to SDS people), but what they actually tell people on a day-to-day basis is fundamentally liberal.

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SOUTHERN EXCEPTIONALISM: "Southern Consciousness is based on an impulse that originates in the very depths of the Southern soul, in the intense and profound feelings for the rootedness of society, no matter how much corrupted and still corrupt, which possesses certain values of deep meaning to human beings. The South possessed a folk culture, wrote David Potter, 'long after it succumbed to the onslaught of a (pre)-industrial culture elsewhere. It was an aspect of this culture that the relation between the land and the people remained more direct and more primal in the South than in other parts of the country...Even in the most exploitative economic situations, this culture retained a personalism in the relations of man to man which the industrial culture lacks.'"-- from "Southern Consciousness" by Steve Wise (of SSOC), The Great Speckled Bird, Vol. March 17, 1969, page 12.

"White southern consciousness") consists of "our land, our traditions, and our history" which is counterposed with northern, "Yankee" imperialism or capitalism as an organizing principle in the practical struggle. The SSOC position puts practice before theory in terms of its "liberate the South" program. Following a simple-minded, linear extension of the 1966 black power and black self-determination principale of organization along cultural and ethnic lines. SSOC intends to organize white Southerners (white middle class students) to liberate the South as nationally oppressed people from unequal treatment by the North.

But SSOC is in error to see a main contradiction between sectional development this late in the 20th century. The national bourgeoisie rule over American monopoly capitalism and imperialism: the South and Southerners form an integral part of this class without due imbalance (See, Domhoff, Who Rules America (1967), for radical-bourgeois empirical generalizations.) Differences between national capitalists (North and South) do not exist. A single class rules over world imperialism's home market and national production. SSOC's theoretical position on the South as a "colony" is based on extremely doubtful historical materialist grounds, but this position in practice is even more pernicious because

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it deflects the South and the Southerner from the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism. The basic contradiction is between proletariat and capitalist, not Southern proletariat and Northern capitalist and it is completely false to imply that the Southern working class could be "liberated" apart from the struggle of the American Working Class.

Again, the Southern student is currently in universities which are rapidly being transformed into national centers of production of technical and scientific personnel to run the bourgeoisies and armies of monopoly capital. The nativistic Southern component is dwindling in graduate centers and general faculties. There is not reason for an exception to be made of the Southern campus. It is in fact being nationalized and standardized. It is a superstructure of U.S. Imperialism and in this does not differ from other universities.

Finally, SSOC's use of the Confederate flag to symbolize the "rebelliousness" of the South is offensive to all blacks and to anyone opposed to racism.

CONCLUSION: There remains a pressing need for a revolutionary movement in the South; we can never make a revolution with only 3/4 of a country. We who have built the first SDS chapters in the deep South have discovered that the same political ideas and organizing techniques that have built movements in the North and West will, if carried out consistently on a long range basis, build rooted movements in the South. SSOC has tried to exist on the basis of being all things to all men: loyal servants to Ruling Class foundations, helpful ally to emerging bourgeois liberalism, radical leader to discontented and rebellious Southern white students and workers. We have tried SSOC and found it wanting. We are in the South to stay and so are our politics. Our purpose is not to smash SSOC, but it is to build a revolutionary movement.

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Consequently, (1) the National Council hereby declares the fraternal relations between SDS and SSOC formally dissolved; (2) SDS reaffirms its intentions of organizing on a nationwide basis without exceptions. Specifically, SDS intends to build chapters and regions in the South.

For SDS nationwide as part of the international movement;
No exceptions!
One movement against One imperialism!

Pam Geraci -- LSU, New Orleans SDS
Suzanne Wheat -- New Orleans SDS
Stew Blackburn -- Bowdoin SDS
Fred Gordon -- National Office SDS
John Donald -- LSU SDS
Ed Clark -- New Orlenas SDS, PLP
Fred Lacey -- New Orleans MDS, PLP
Eric Gordon -- New Orleans MDS, Tulane SDS
Gary Makinson -- U. of Ala. SDS
Michael Murphree -- Fla. State U. SDS
Antonio Naranjo -- New Orleans
John Huffield -- FSU SDS
Robert Medrak -- FSU SDS
Gail Shaw -- New Orleans (Tulane) (SDS)
Lee Richardson -- New Orleans (Tulane) SDS
Leonard Macon -- Athens College (Ala.) SDS
Paul C. Scribner -- U. of Ala. SDS
Larry Murphy -- FSU SDS

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
ET AL

This proposal, which condemns SSOC for their liberal leanings and for their acceptance of money from ruling class foundations, was supported by the national leadership of SDS and PLP. It was passed by a large vote and dissolves the formal fraternal relationship between SSOC and SDS.

It is noted herein, an alternate proposal was made, which called for a severance of the relations with SSOC as the first order of business at the national convention meeting in June, but this proposal was defeated.

During this session of the NC meeting, Tim Mc Carthy of the National Office staff, made a plea for funds stating that the National Office is finding it increasingly difficult to obtain financial help and complained over the fact that there are not enough "angels" around. He stated that the National Office staff members are supposed to receive $30.00 a week for their work, but that they have been only receiving $15.00 a week, which is impossible to live on. He stated that it requires $400.00 each week to have "New Left Notes" printed, which does not include the postage involved in mailing the paper.

During his appeal for funds, it was learned that the University of Chicago, SDS, pledged $100.00.

It was subsequently learned that some $2,500.00 was collected at the NC meeting in registration fees.

At this point the meeting was called for dinner.

On reconvening, the next order of business on the agenda was a discussion on labor and in particular, a resolution was presented by Jim Mellen of the Radical Education Project. This resolution was presented to the attendees at the convention in the following printed form:

HOT TOWN: SUMMER IN THE CITY

(I ain't Gonna Work on Maggie's Farm No More)

Bill Ayers -- Michigan SDS
Jim Mellen -REP

(The following is a revised version of a proposal for a summer program that was passed by the Michigan Regional Conference in Lansing on March 16. People are now working in Detroit to implement this program. This proposal should be seen as a model for political direction in the movement over the next few months.)

I. TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Over the past few months, SDS has developed a correct transitional strategy for itself. That strategy is based on an understanding of the class nature of this society; on an understanding that the sharpest struggles against the ruling class are being waged by the oppressed nations against U.S. imperialism, and that all our actions must flow from out identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is a strategy that understands the need for SDS to tie itself to these struggles, and to make itself something more than it is: to transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement.

It is clear that, although a successful revolution in this country is in no way inevitable, any revolution -- to have even a small chance of success -- would need to be a revolution of the working class. This is not to say that SDS as an organization should move immediately to organizing workers, or that we have, at this point, a precise enought understanding of the various segments and characteristics of thw working class. It is only to assert an understanding of the fact that the struggle for freedom that we are involved in can never succeed without the total, fundamental economic and social transformation in which the working class over-throws and liquidates the ruling class.

Up until recently, SDS has been exclusively a student movement. Furthermore, it has been a student movement concentrated primarily on the elite campuses of Harvard, Chicago, Berkeley, Michigan. This is beginning to change. San Francisco State replaces Berkeley, Michigan State replaces Michigan, as the important centers of struggle. And SDS begins to spring up in the high schools and off the campus altogether.

But more importantly, the movement begins to happen in these places. In most cities, high schools are blowing up so fast that SDS organizers can't keep up with them. Community and junior colleges are increasingly the scenes of struggle and confrontation. And the army has become the time-bomb of the ruling class.

We're faced with two realities: that, in the past SDS has been primarily an elite student group, and that, at this point in history, young people in the schools generally, and in the army, are actively resisting the special oppression they face. Given what SDS is, what is happening in this society, and what the movement must become in order to have even a chance of success, it is clear that SDS must being to consciously transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement. That is, SDS must become more than itself, must move, in the only organic way open to it, to become a self-conscious working class movement. And it must do this by emphasizing the commonality of the oppression and struggles of youth, and by making these struggles class conscious.

This is possible because of the material basis of the oppression of youth. The majority of young people in America today are either in school, in the army, or unemployed. Specifically in the schools and in the army, young people perform tasks that have no relevance to their own needs but are key to the functioning of capitalism: training young people to fit into a more highly skilled work force, forcing them to defend imperialism and the Empire in struggles against national liberation movements, and, in all cases, deferring young people for longer and longer periods of time from the productive work force. Thus, there is significant class content to the oppression of

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the vast majority of young people. This is not to say that youth is a class--or that young people's struggles are always in the interest of the working class as a whole. It is to say that youth is a segment of the working class, and that it is the material basis for their oppression that makes the possibility of developing working class consciousness very real. Our task must be to understand the class content of youth's oppression, to specify it in practice, and to build class consciousness through struggle.

In order for SDS to succeed at this task it will take tremendous self-consciousness and discipline from the membership. It will involve high school organizers consciously organizing among the lowest-tracked kids. It will involve organizers consciously developing bases in community colleges. And it will involve disciplined cadre entering the armed forces and work places as organizers.

There are two important developments that would help this process. These should be seen as urgent tasks. First, is the development of cadre. Seariousness and self-consciousness inside the organization are essential as SDS begins to transform itself into a revolutionary movement. Through collective politcal experience and study cadre can be developed who can bring these things to SDS. The function of cadre--through exemplary action and through political education-- is to broaden the movement and build class consciousness in a self-conscious way as well as help consolidate growth and fight uneven development.

A second important task is the concretization of our politics through practice. The development of our politics in the past few months leaves us with an understanding of the oppression of youth, only in a general way. We see that working class youth are oppressed in specific ways and that the existing base of SDS in colleges and universities has much in common with youth in all sectors of the working class. We must now learn more about the issues which face city youth especially, the kind of consciousness that is developing there, and the

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organizational forms which can make struggle around those issues and that consciousness coherent. In order to make SDS now basically a student movement, something more than it is. a revolutionary youth movement, we must learn more about city youth and the class content of their struggle. We must bring organizers from our existing constituency more directly into organizing situations of our potential constituency, thereby creating a material force for the further development of our politics.

The task of developing cadres, as well as the task of broadening our constituency to other sections of white working class youth, both have a special urgency at this time. This is due to the advance level of political struggle of the black liberation movement. To recognize the vanguard character of the black liberation struggle means to recognize its importance to the "white" movement. The black liberation struggle has been instrumental in winning much of the white movement to a clearer understanding of imperialism, class oppression within the U.S., the reactionary nature of pacifism, the need for armed struggle as the only raod to revolution, and other essential truths which were not predominant within our movement in the past. It must be clear that setbacks to the vanguard are tremendous setbacks to the people's movement as a whole.

Yet repression at this time is very serious against the political vanguard of the black liberation struggle, the Black Panther Party. And this repression is facilitated by the absence of substantial material support--power--by the movement. Unless we recognize the urgency of building the material strength of the movement, to be a conscious organized, mobilized, fighting force capable of giveing real support to the black liberation struggle, we will be deserting the most advanced leadership of that struggle to the free hand of ruling class repression.

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Thus the urgency of broadening the movement to more proletarian sections of white industrial workers and youth is not because in some way concern with the white working class is an alternative political direction from the support for the black struggle. Rather, it is a necessary extension of the support. Nor is "white working class organizing" an alternative to the struggle to build the student movement into a more concerted fighting movement. In fact, the attempt to broaden our base to more oppressed sections of the white working class youth is closely linked to the struggle within the "student movement" against pacifism and social democratic and revisionist ideas, which feed on the isolation of the student movement from the masses of working people. In both cases, we seek to expand our base not in conflict with the black liberation struggle or "student organizing" but because of it.

In terms of cadre development, an investigation of and intimacy with the real life situation and struggles of the oppressed sections of working class youth will give formerly "student" cadres a clearer identification with and understanding of the interests of the class as a whole. Thus, on return to a campus situation, they will be better equipped to fight the go-slowism of student provincialism.

II. PROGRAM

A large number of SDS people should come to Detroit to participate in a summer of work and study. A program that calls for SDS people to work as a group in the cities should first understand the history and failures of past SDS programs. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to develop a detailed critical history of SDS programs relating to the cities, we will make a couple of general comments that are particularly relevant.

In our past organizing we incorrectly thought that SDS people should totally follow the direction of the people with whom they were working. This on two levels: first, we assumed that SDS people were foreign elements who had to transform their identities, emulating others, and second, we thought SDS people should totally take political direction from the people with whom they were organizing. Both of these are in . The task should be to retain one's sense of identity, retain a sense of struggle from the campus, and at the same time build a movement which includes a broader constituency. This process may lead to SDS people undergoing fundamental changes, but consciousness must develop dialectically, not mechanically (like by getting a haircut).

Selection and Training

Participation in the summer program will be based primarily on self-selection, but we will emphasize those those who do become involved should see themselves as full-time SDS cadre, willing to work intensively for the devl pment of the summer collective.

In preparation for the summer, we will continue our program of movement schools which we've developed over the past few months in Michigan. This is a program which involves chapters in intensive weekends of study around questions such as racism, imperialism, and corprate power. This program will intensify as we come closer to this summer.

Furthermore, we will set up special training sessions in Detroit for those who plan to participate in the summer program. These special sessions will include resource people leading discussions on such topics as the history of labor struggles in Detroit, the role of law in society and legal rights, and the political economy of the city. These special sessions will concentrate on preparing people for the summer experience and will be attended by people from all over the state who are coming to Detroit.

Jobs

People involved in the program will try to get jobs in the city. They will be made aware of the job situation in Detroit and urged to seek employment where it will provide the best experiences. Participants will get jobs in bars, restaurants, taxicabs, and shops, as well as a few working out of day-labor slave markets. Women will be urged to work in jobs where the employment of women is high: specific factories, as secretaries, waitresses, maids. The jobs will be necessary to maintain the summer program financially, as well as to provide practical experience necessary toward the concretization of our politics.

Study

Workable study groups will be organized which will help people develop political perspective and intellectual background. Study will include revolutionary theory and organization, the political economy of the labor movement, as well as more specific areas of study, like Vietnam, the Middle East, and Cuba. A major area of study, which will involve some original research, will be the translation of economic power into political power in the city of Detroit. Toward the end of the summer study groups will be tying together their intellectual and practical work and attempting to make specific plans for fall strategy. This will include some campus work as well as GI organizing, high school, and some on-the-job work.

Skill-building

The summer should provide an opportunity to develop much-needed skill that SDS people have had neither the time nor the organization to develop in the past. We will organize groups to learn self-defense skills, printing, propaganda, auto mechanics, and how to do research. More groups will develop depending on the needs and interests of those involved.

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<u>Life in the City</u>

People will be living in small groups throughout the city. There should be involvement by SDS people in the neighborhood issues as they come up: a fight in the park, a protest against the pigs. Further, the group as a whole can anticipate certain issues it will become involved in. For instance, we're sure that we'll have to deal with racism in a number of concrete situations. Detroit, with its giant auto corporations and sprawling universities, has created one of the largest ghettos in the country. Detroit is also the home of a large Panther organization and other militant black groups. Working out a relationship with these groups and becoming involved in issues to fight racism will be of primary importance.

The labor situation in Detroit will, almost certainly, be in intensive turmoil this summer. The existaence of militant black caucases in auto (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, etc) has created a tense situation for the corporations and union bureaucracies, and has provided an alternative for workers. Some people from the SDS project will be in shops as will organizers from Detroit's National Organizing Committee and will be relating to these struggles on a day-to-day basis. The project as a whole must work out ways to support the struggles of revolutionaries in the shops.

Some people, especially those who've been drafted or plan to enter the armed forces soon, will be working around Fort Wayne handing out <u>Vietnam GI</u> and <u>The Bond</u>. They will try to develop an understanding of GI problems that will be valuable in the future.

Others are planning to work with high school kids around the Grande ballroom, hippy capitalist center of Detroit. They hope to develop in these kids an understanding of the ways in which revolutionary rhetoric and hippy culture can be made into commodities by the capitalists.

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There will of course [illegible] types of involvement in community issues which we [illegible]. But with this amount of activity going on, [illegible] logistics and coordination are going to be a problem. We will try to have a large meeting weekly to keep [illegible] touch with what overall things are going on, and [illegible] a sense of the strength and dynamic of the group.

An important tension should [illegible] in a program between the collective life and training [illegible] SDS people and the political outreach into the co[illegible] will be important to maintain this tension and [illegible] should adjust to the duality. Merely living together and studying would promote isolation and elitism ([illegible] study undirected by practical political activity is also questionable). Merely working in the community without a self-conscious development of cadre skills and organizational training would promote an undirected activism and lack of concrete political development.

Clearly, an important part of the white chauvinism is the propaganda effect of the very existence of whites who are on the side of the blacks against the system. This begins to show the masses of white working people that the struggle is a class and political struggle, not a racial struggle. Thus, open, overt, visible political activity of our movement in support of the black struggle must be prominent in our priorities for the summer. Yet we must also understand that this "action propaganda" is not a substitute for going among the working masses, learning directly what their experiences and ideas are about, and doing direct propaganda among them. To correctly balance these two needs will be a central task of our summer effort.

The whole program should be seen as a step towards a strong revolutionary youth movement in Michigan. It should not be seen as an attempt to organize all of Detroit.

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After the summer, many people will probably return to their campuses to continue on-going SDS work. Many will stay in Detroit to help build a strong movement there, and some will be going into the armed forces and other constituencies to begin work. That this program develop is of crucial importance for the advancement of all this work, and the development of these organizers.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); ET AL

It was noted that during the discussion in the above proposal, that almost all of the PLP forces had left the convention floor and reportedly were returning to their home areas.

A number of statements were made reflecting there was not complete agreement on this proposal, but in general, the concept that students must go to the industrial work class, was accepted.

The following proposal was introduced by Jeff Jones, which concerns a boycott of the Standard Oil Company and which was presented to the attendees in the following printed form:

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STANDARD OIL BOYCOTT - [illegible]

Local 1-561, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, as part of a nationwide [illegible] national oil industry, has been on strike [illegible] a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard [illegible] plant at Richmond. [illegible] since [illegible] most of the other strikes in the industry [illegible] Standard has demanded that 1-561 [illegible] clause (1-561 only has such a clause [illegible]). As a tactic in their struggle, they have called for a national and international boycott of Standard Oil products. Many unions and labor organizations have joined in the boycott call, including OCAW International and the Central Labor Councils of Contra Costa, [illegible] and San Francisco counties. Early last week, Standard Oil informed the union members that if they were not back at work by Friday, their jobs would be [illegible] permanently [illegible] employed in the plant. [illegible] of the [illegible] is such that on Friday, the men and women of 1-561 returned to work without a contract. This means that the [illegible] of the boycott is now their main weapon against Standard Oil.

The unions' demands center around higher wages and the [illegible], however, the political context in which these demands [illegible] is important for us to consider. [illegible] support for the TWLF led strikes at San Francisco State and Berkeley (agreeing to and signing a mutual-aid pact with the TWLF and sending contingents of oil workers to the two picket lines) and through their understanding that students and workers are fighting the same enemy, they have helped take the fight against racism [illegible] into the working communities of the Bay Area. Just as students have gained a greater understanding of the struggles of workers through this experience, the students (and the strikers at State and Berkeley) have helped rank and file workers, and even some of the leadership, to develop an understanding of the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil. This boycott can be [illegible] strategy for [illegible] this fight into other working communities of America.

SDS should join in supporting the call for the Standard Oil boycott and [illegible] around it on [illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

campuses and most especially, in the working communities. Through this support we can concretely support the just struggles of the oil workers, as well as educate our people around the importance of such support.

SPECIFICALLY, SDS CHAPTERS SHOULD:

1. Publicise the boycott (leafletting, agit-prop, and educational materials).

2. Circulate petitions supporting the boycott and get people to send their Standard Oil credit cards back to the company with a note demanding that they agree to the union's demands.

3. The NO is mandated to prepare a pamphlet on the oil strike, the relations that have developed between the students and the workers, and explaining the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil.

4. ON CAMPUS AGITATION AGAINST RECRUITERS FROM STANDARD OIL.

5. NLN will keep the membership informed of the status of the boycott and the strike.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

1. Specific questions and requests for information should be sent to the SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE: P.O. Box 1282, Richmond, California, 94806

2. San Francisco Newsreel is preparing a film on the Oil strikes. It should be available for distribution near the end of April (see NLN).

3. Bumper stickers, buttons, Boycott leaflets and petitions are available from the Standard Oil Boycott Committee.

Sps. by JEFF JONES, BOB AVAKIAN, PETER STONE

Concerning the boycott with Standard Oil, there was very little discussion on it because no one was basically against the proposal. Hence, it was unanimously passed. At this meeting, bumper stickers indicating a boycott of Standard Oil were passed out, but it was suggested that they not be placed on the members' cars until they were out of Texas.

The final formal proposal made at the NC meeting concerned the China-Soviet Union border dispute, which was presented by Ed Jennings. Although this was to have been introduced by PLP, Jennings, who is not a PLP member, made the introduction. It is believed that the lateness of the hour and the fact that most PLP members had departed, plus the fact that they may have decided that they were going to lose the proposal, occasioned the introduction by a non-PLP member. At this time there were less then 200 present at the NC session. The following represents the China-Soviet Union proposal as received by the NC in printed form.

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FIGHT U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION AGAINST CHINA !

The recent Soviet imperialist attacks on the Chinese border are part of the overall U.S.-Soviet plan to encircle China. They are attempting to defeat the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses, who have fought against Soviet Revisionism and counter-revolution. They are also aiding U.S. Imperialism in attempting to make China's human and natural resources free for imperialist exploitation. Thus the USSR has been moving troops to the Chinese border since the invasion of Czechoslovakia was completed. This has forced China to divert her troops. Soviet Imperialist attacks on People's China, then. are attacks on all Marxist-Lennists, all anti-imperialist movements, and all oppressed classes fighting against imperialism. To "justify" these attacks, the Russian misleaders have begun a viciously racist campaign against the "Yellow Peril" at home (echoed in the U.S. press) and have waged a "diplomatic offensive" abroad to firm up the support of the ruling classes in France, Italy, Japan, etc.

In recent years, the true meaning of the Soviet revisionists' cry for "peaceful transition to socialism" and "Peaceful coexistence" has become clear. On the one hand, they try to extinguish the flames of revolution--either through "aid" or its always reliable sellout revisionist "Communist" Party allies. On the other hand, they actively aid and collaborate with U.S. Imperialism--by giving arms to the Indian government to be used against China, by working to sell-out the Vietnamese people, etc. Though the Soviet Imperialists have at times squabbled with U.S. Imperialism concerning the carving-up of the world--as in Czechoslovakia--their basic collusion has not been in the least undermined.

Both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists recognize the danger of the Proletarian Cultural Rev. and malign it in similar terms. The struggle of the Chinese masses against bourgeois ideology and practices in revolutionary disguise (ie revisionism) has helped to expose the counter-revolutionary goals of the USSR to the anti-imperialist masses around the world. Their uncompromising support of violent revolution makes them the prime target of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

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By setting the stage for a U.S.-Soviet war against China, the Russian actions represent a serious attack on U.S. workers. The Imperialists must intensify racist (against Blacks, Latins and Asians in the U.S.) and anti-communist propaganda to prepare for a war--splitting white workers from their natural allies at home and all U.S. workers from their natural allies internationally. And, as always, U.S. workers will be forced to fight and die in this imperialist war.

SDS has a great responsibility to American workers, students and intellectuals to condemn this Soviet Imperialist attack on People's China and revolution everywhere. We must begin to mobilize working people and students against the new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance.

All chapters are urged to carry on educational work and to agitate around this issue. Slogans such as:

RUSSIA, GET OUT OF CHINA NOW!

FIGHT U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION!

U.S. GET OUT OF TAIWAN NOW!

should be epoularixed and demonstrations should be built to make visible our vigorous opposition to this new imperialist trick. Chapters and their base should be won particularly to see the imperialist nature of the Soviet attack, U.S.-Soviet cooperation, and, the serious consequences for American working people and students.

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Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); ET AL

With respect to this proposal, there was hardly any discussion and it was passed without specific count. It is believed that the reason it was passed without debate was not so much that the attendees were favorable to China, but rather because of their considerable anti-Soviet Union feelings in which the Soviet Union is considered to be an imperialistic power ranking with United States imperialism. During the brief discussion on this proposal, a person who identified himself as with the Communist Party, USA (CP,USA), stated that more research should be conducted on the territorial boundaries between China and the Soviet Union. This person was booed and jeered and cat calls were numerous along with the use of the work "revisionist".

In connection with this proposal, a white male, five feet, seven inches tall, 155 pounds, 33 to 35 years of age, wearing glasses, spoke for approximately five minutes on the history of China. This person made an intellectual presentation, stating that he was formerly with the CP, USA and is now starting a Marxist-Leninist party following the Chinese line, but he is anti-PLP. He stated that we must support the NLF and criticized PLP for their incorrect line with respect to the NLF. At this point in his speech, he was cheered, but this speaker stated that it was not correct to cheer the errors of PLP, rather we must all work together. Finally, an unwritten proposal was presented on Vietnam, supporting the NLF as waging a national war of liberation against United States imperialism. This proposal was accepted overwhelmingly.

Thus ended the NC meeting.

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The second NIC meeting was held on March 31, 1969, in an outdoor area in Austin, Texas. Approximately 100 attended the meeting and of the NIC members, only Chip Marshall, Jeff Jones and Bartee Haile were observed.

The meeting was chaired by Bernardine Dohrn and the first order of business was a discussion concerning anti-war demonstrations intended for May, 1969. It was finally decided that there would not be one nationally coordinated effort, but rather that any anti-war demonstration so contemplated would be coordinated on a three regional basis: New York, Chicago and either California or Dallas.

Mike Klonsky suggested that SDS should have demonstrations every week in each school, but no final decision was made in this matter.

With respect to the April 5, 1969, peace march and whether or not SDS should participate, it was decided that even though this march was being led by the "Trotskyites", that individuals could participate but that there would be no mandate by SDS concerning the peace march.

A discussion then concerned Les Coleman's Schools Proposal, where it was stated that the question here was how to deal with youth, that is whether as a class or not as a class. In the ensuing discussion, Klonsky and Coleman presented the view that youth are oppressed as a class, hence can be organized around their own oppression.

This view was countered by Jim Mellen and John Jacobsen, New York SDS, who replied that youth is not a class, but will become part of either the working class or ruling class. The discussion was not clarified here, nor was this discussion presented

in any factional manner between the participants. It was finally decided that the Coleman proposal needed more discussion and would be one of the first items on the agenda for the June National Convention.

Klonsky stated that the June National Convention would be held during the second week of June, 1969, or one week on either side of the second week. Both Mellen and Jacobsen indicated that they wanted it to be held in August because of the necessity to organize the "work-in" programs for the summer. Their view was not upheld, however.

Klonsky stated that the National Office is looking for a place to hold the national convention and asked everyone to be on the lookout for possibilities. He stated as it presently stands, they do have a place in Michigan at a camp, which has dining facilities and which has a campground, but no meeting hall. Because of the failure to have a meeting hall, he wanted everyone to look for possibilities for a site for the forthcoming convention meeting.

Klonsky also noted on the question of leadership, that this will become a pertinent issue in the coming months and the people here who are interested in leadership should give it some thought. He made no recommendations or indicated any preferences whatsoever at this meeting.

As a final order of business, Dave Slavin, who indicated he is presently working in New York, but who had been a student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, stated that he had received his draft notice and was thinking of organizing in the Army. He stated that there should be some way by which those who face induction could get together to organize their efforts so that when they did enter

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS);
ET AL

the Army they could do organizing work.

Klonsky stated that he would look into this and would coordinate this effort from the National Office.

Thus ended the NIC meeting of March 31, 1969.

CONFIDENTIAL

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 27, 1969

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Pursuant to Mr. Tolson's request concerning sources of New Left finances, the following information is set forth.

New Left funds are generally obtained from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, advertisements and its publications and fund drives. The main sources of revenue are contributions and it is estimated that nearly 60% of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) funds, for example, comes from this source.

Although the majority of gifts are in the ten to fifty dollar range, wealthy benefactors who have acquired their fortune in the U. S. have contributed substantial amounts. Examples are [redacted] is said to have contributed [redacted] towards the SDS budget one year and made other substantial contributions. [redacted] is said to have contributed [redacted] towards SDS one year and also made other substantial contributions. [redacted] the [redacted] cost of a convention of the National Conference for New Politics in Chicago during 1967. [redacted] to an anti-Vietnam war group just prior to a huge demonstration in New York in 1967. [redacted] organizations and contributed liberally to many of them.

b7d

The New Left has also received money from several funds and foundations. [redacted] of New York gave more than [redacted] from 1961 to 1968 to various individuals and groups most of which have been identified as either present or past members or sympathizers of the CPUSA or New Left movement. We are conducting an extensive investigation of this organization looking toward possible removal of its tax exempt status.

RLS:lvh/djb
(5)

ENCLOSURE

CONTINUED - OVER

NOT RECORDED
167 MAY 2 1969

MAY 1 1969
INT. SEC.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Demonstrations are frequently financed by fund raising and collections. For example, more than $25,000 was collected from participants and spectators by the organizing committee during the march on the Pentagon in 1967. The organizing committee raised $10,000 from the sale of buttons during an anti-Vietnam war demonstration early in 1967 in New York City.

Funds for antidraft activity by the New Left also have been supplied by organizations such as that known as Resist located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This group was formed in 1967 by approximately 300 professors, writers, minist[ers] and others who signed a statement pledging to raise funds to aid youths who resist the draft and denounce the Vietnam War.

CPUSA leaders have recently urged Party members to give time and money to "New Left demonstrations and causes."

Much of the nation-wide travel engaged in by prominent New Left leaders is paid for by honorariums paid to them, generally out of student funds, for their guest speaker appearances on college campuses. We are closely following this aspect of funding and are obtaining income tax returns of Key Activists in the New Left movement looking toward causing Internal Revenue Service to conduct investigations of possible violations of statutes within their jurisdiction on part of these individuals.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 18, 1969

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Pursuant to Mr. Tolson's request concerning sources of New Left finances, the following information is set forth:

FINANCES

New Left funds are generally obtained from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, advertisements, and its publications and fund drives. The main sources of revenue are contributions, and it is estimated that nearly 60% of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) funds, for example, comes from this source.

Although the majority of gifts are in the $10 to $50 range, wealthy benefactors who have acquired their fortunes in the United States have contributed substantial amounts in support of the New Left movement and in support of the activities of the SDS in particular. Included among these, for example, are a [redacted] activities; and [redacted] and writer who for years has been linked to more than a score of communist front organizations and has contributed liberally to many of them. These individuals alone have contributed more than a hundred thousand dollars in support of New Left activities.

The New Left has also received money from several foundations. [redacted] for example, has contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars from 1961 to 1968 to various individuals and groups, most of which have been identified as either present or past members or sympathizers of the Communist Party, USA, or New Left movement.

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

RLS:lvh/cgb
(5)

NOT RECORDED
167 MAY 2 1969

11 MAY 1 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

Demonstrations are frequently financed by fund raising and collections. For example, more than $25,000 was collected from participants and spectators by the organizing committee during the march on the Pentagon in 1967. The organizing committee raised $10,000 from the sale of buttons during an anti-Vietnam War demonstration early in 1967 in New York City.

Funds for antidraft activity by the New Left also have been supplied by organizations such as that known as Resist, located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This group was formed in 1967 by approximately 300 professors, writers, ministers, and others who signed a statement pledging to raise funds to aid youths who resist the draft and denounce the Vietnam War.

Communist Party, USA, leaders have recently urged Party members to give time and money to "New Left demonstrations and causes."

Much of the nation-wide travel engaged in by prominent New Left leaders is paid for by honorariums paid to them, generally out of student funds, for their guest speaker appearances on college campuses.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

W.C.S.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: 4/25/69

FROM : CLYDE TOLSON

SUBJECT:

B1

While reviewing the transcript, the Domestic Intelligence Division was contacted to see whether it would be safe to leave the names of the individuals in the testimony as you gave it. Mr. Sullivan stated it would be unsafe to do so because informants and sources would have to be used to verify the alleged comments and the names of the individuals, which would result in an exposure of some very important informants; that some might renege and that the Director could conceivably be subject to a law suit and be put in an untenable position by "naming names." For this reason, that portion of the testimony was rewritten to delete the names only. The revised testimony appears in the attached memorandum beginning with paragraph 2 and going to the end of the memorandum.

CT:DSS

5:17 PM

April 23, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. DE LOACH
MR. GALE
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. BISHOP

SDS - GENERAL

The President called and said he was sitting there thinking about a few things and he, incidentally, had talked to Attorney General John N. Mitchell over the weekend about the crime message, narcotics, and the rest, and it seems to him that they have a pretty good package which they finally came up with, but he is concerned about the riots. He said they do not have anything on that and frankly, it gives nothing in a legislative way. He said he was reading his news summaries this morning and when you look at Cornell and CCNY (City College of New York) and what has happened at Harvard and look at their plans, it is bad. The President said that Sunday he had a visit from Billy Graham, who had been ~~up in New~~ York ~~and~~ had a long talk, a whole day and evening, with Tom Hayden and Rader, the second man. The President said the reason Billy Graham was with them is that young Rader is the grandson of the great evangelist Paul Rader, whom he, the President heard in California years ago. The President said that Billy Graham read to him a letter from Rader that he, Graham, received after their meeting in which he, Rader, said what their plans are for this fall and he put it directly; first of all, they thought Communism was passe and their heroes are Che Guevara, Mao, et cetera, and what they wanted to do and intended to do was to carry this to a revolutionary point and then he said now the good people, the law abiding ones, will be locked in their rooms looking at television and he said the police will be there and that is what they want -- a confrontation with the police. The President said the Attorney General told him over the weekend that my people don't go on campus but apparently keep a close check on them and he, the President, wondered if it is as bad as that.

I told the President that I had just returned a few minutes ago from New York where I had been with the publishers who are having a convention there and there have been quite a number of disturbances in New York -- at City

100-439048

NOT RECORDED
29 JUN 19 1969

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70 JUN 23 1969

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URGENT 4-25-69 EOM

TO DIRECOTR (105-165706) (100-439048) PLAINTEXT

FROM CHICAGO (157-1291) (100-40903) 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, DEMONSTRATION AT FEDERAL BUILDING,
CHICAGO, MAY ONE, NEXT, RM.
SDS, IS - SDS.

ON APRIL TWENTY FIVE, INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) HAS CALLED FOR A DEMONSTRATION AT THE FEDERAL BUILDING, CHIAGO, MAY ONE, NEXT TO DEMAND THE FREEING OF HUEY NEWTON, BPP MINISTER OF DEFENSE. DEMONSTRATION SCHEDULED FOR NOON.

NEWTON TO APPEAR FEDERAL COURT, SAN FRANCISCO, MAY ONE FOR BAIL HEARING.

END PAGE ONE

b7

FRED HAMPTON, ILL. CHAIRMAN BPP AND MIKE KLONSKY NATIONAL SECRETARY SDS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT FEDERAL BUILDING IN CHICAGO.

NEW LEFT NOTES, THE SDS NEWSPAPER, APRIL TWENTY FOUR, LAST ISSUE STATED THAT SDS NATIONAL OFFICE HAS SENT MESSAGES TO GERMAN SDS AND OTHR EUROPEAN MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS TO ASK THEM TO JOIN IN MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS, DEMANDING NEWTON AND ALL BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS BE SET FREE.

USA, CHIEF JUDGE USDC, USM, GSA, BUILDING GUARDS, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND LOCAL PD ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE. SOURCE IS [redacted] b7D CHICAGO FOLLOWING. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

WA HOLD FOR ONE MORE

4/9/69

Airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan (Field Supervision)
1 - Mr. A. Rosen
1 - [redacted] B7C
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

To: SACs, Boston (100-35472)
Chicago (100-40903)
New York (100-146047)
Philadelphia (100-46556)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS
BUDED: 4/15/69

ReNYtels 4/4,7/69 and Buairtel 4/7/69.

[redacted] B1

1. [redacted]

2. [redacted] B1

3. [redacted]

4. [redacted]

MAILED 3
APR - 9 1969
COMM-FBI

RLS:lvh

AUG 29 1969 KKB

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

REC 41

19 APR 10 1969

100-439048-2656 X

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Boston
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

NOTE CONTINUED:

All available information to date has been discussed with [redacted] Division Six, who advises no apparent federal violation exists to date. This matter will continue to be closely coordinated with Division Six as to any possible federal violation.

b7C

In absence of federal violation vigorous efforts will be made to obtain local prosecution at Boston as best available deterrent to such activity.

REC-105

April 24, 1969

100-11M45-2657

b7C

Dear [redacted]

In response to the request in your letter of April 17th, I am sending you, under separate cover, 25 copies each of four publications regarding the Students for a Democratic Society. I hope this material will be helpful to you. We do not have any data for distribution regarding the Chicago Area Draft Resistance organization you mentioned.

MAILED 22
APR 24 1969
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Mr. Engelmeier (Room 4724) (sent direct)
USC Material:
25 copies each of:
An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
Turbulence on Campus
~~Reds on Campus~~ 2/67 intro
Director's Testimony, 2/23/68, Re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable data concerning correspondent. CADRE is the Chicago Area Draft Resistance which is a Chicago based anti-draft group which engaged in protest activity in August, 1968, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. It is a movement dedicated to help young men beat the draft.

XEROX
MAY 2 1969

FMG:mk (5)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

55 MAY 13 1969

B7C

April 17, 1969

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate receiving from you any literature you have available about the status and activities of two organizations--Students For A Democratic Society and C.A.D.R.E.

If there are multiple copies available of information about these groups, they would also be helpful. Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

B7C

NDW:lh

REC-105

10 MAY 1 1969

MAY 2 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) DATE: 5/2/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)(P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS
OO: CHICAGO

ReBulet to Chicago, 3/27/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies each of the following SDS publications requested in re letter:

1) SDS CONTITUTION

2) A POCKET MANUEL ON DRAFT RESISTANCE - KEN CLOKE

3) DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE

4) U.S. IMPERIALISM - GILBERT AND LOUD

5) VIETNAM - JOIN

6) REP LITERATURE LIST

Also enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of the current SDS Literature List and two copies of SDS - AN INTRODUCTION.

The above literature was obtained from the SDS National Office, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois, by [redacted] All other publications requested in re letter are out of print and are no longer available.

ENCLOSURE REC-6

2 - Bureau (enc. 16)(RM)
1 - Chicago

GSB
(3)

EX-103

5 MAY 5 1969

INT. SEC.

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

May 13, 1969

Director, FBI 100-439048-265

1 - [redacted] b7C
1 - Mr. Shackelford

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to your letter dated March 21, 1969, wherein you referred to a list of Students for a Democratic Society literature which appeared in the August 19, 1968, issue of "New Left Notes." You requested to be furnished with the literature in this list.

Enclosed for your information is one copy each of "A Pocket Manual on Draft Resistance"; "High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement"; "Students for a Democratic Society National Constitution"; "Vietnam SDS"; "U. S. Imperialism"; "The New Radicals in the Multiversity"; "REP Literature List, March, 1969"; "Don't Mourn, Organize"; "SDS Literature List, April, 1969"; "An Introduction, SDS." The latter two publications were not requested by you, however, are being furnished because of their possible interest.

This literature was obtained from [redacted] b7D [redacted], Chicago, Illinois. He advised that all of the other publications on the list which appeared in "New Left Notes" are now out of print and not available to the Students for a Democratic Society National Headquarters.

If you desire additional efforts be made to obtain any of the other publications set forth in referenced letter, it is requested that this Bureau be advised if the Department is considering prosecution of any specific or possible violation of a Federal statute concerning this literature so that appropriate investigative personnel can be guided in their investigation.

Enclosures - 10

100-439048

WNP:lvh
(5)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 1, 1969

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

At the December, 1968, National Council meeting of SDS, a manual captioned "Work-In, a National SDS Summer Project" which was prepared by Fred Gordon, SDS National Educational Secretary, first came to light. This manual sets forth a program by SDS to invade industrial plants and other business organizations this summer for the purpose of disrupting operations and conducting an intensive propaganda campaign among employees geared against the United States and particularly private industry. National Interorganizational Secretary Bernardine Dohrn in December, 1968, proposed that 15 thousand copies of the manual be printed.

OBSERVATIONS:

To insure that the field is aware of the existence of this manual, there is attached an airtel to all offices directing the field to alert sources and informants regarding this SDS project and to keep Bureau promptly advised of all pertinent information developed.

RECOMMENDATION:

In line with above observations attached airtel to all offices be approved.

Enclosure
100-439048

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
1 -

WNP:lvh
(7)

REC-24

10 MAY 5 1969

70 MAY 9 1969

May 6, 1969

REC-31

ST-100

b7C

Dear [redacted]

In response to the inquiries in your letter of April 28th, I have said the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is infiltrated by Communist Party members, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

I am enclosing some material concerning the SDS which I hope will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
MAY 6 - 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (3)
An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
Turbulence on the Campus
Director's Testimony 2-23-68 Re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning correspondent.

FMG:sam (3)

MAY 14 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

April 28, 1969

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The following quotation is from a recent article in the Daily Pilot, an Orange County, California newspaper.

"A Legionnaire who said he is with the counter subversive mission of California American Legion quoted J. Edgar Hoover, quoting American Communist Party President Gus Hall, who said, 'SDS is one of the groups we have going for us.'"

Would you be kind enough to supply us with answers to the following questions:

1. Did you say this?

2. Did you say it this way?

3. Is the statement regarding Gus Hall's statement true?

4. If you were misquoted, would you please tell us what it was that you DID say?

5. How can we further document the Gus Hall statement?

Thank you for your help.

Very truly yours,

b7C

17 MAY 1969

5-6-69

ST-107

REC-31

CORR. [illegible]

ENCIPHERED

14 1033PM LJP

DEFERRED 4-30-69 LJP

TO DIRECTOR ----CODE----

FROM CHICAGO

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) - DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS. CHICAGO ILLINOIS. MAY TWO, NEXT. IS- M. STAG.

SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED TODAY SDS HAD SCHEDULED DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS TO PROTEST THE UNIVERSITY'S DESTRUCTION OF HOUSING DURING THEIR EXPANSION PROGRAM. FORM OF DEMONSTRATION AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS NOT KNOWN. USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY, AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [redacted] CHICAGO FOLLOWING. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

EX-103 MAY 5 1969

XEROX MAY 6 1969

MAY 9 1969

MR. WELLS
ROOM 902 9&D

5/2/69

Airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

B7C

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

At the December, 1968, National Council meeting of SDS, a manual captioned "Work-In, a National SDS Summer Project" which was prepared by Fred Gordon, SDS National Educational Secretary, first came to light. This manual sets forth a program by SDS to invade industrial plants and other business organizations this summer for the purpose of disrupting operations and conducting an intensive propaganda campaign among employees geared against the United States and particularly private industry. National Interorganizational Secretary Bernardine Dohrn in December, 1968, proposed that 15 thousand copies of the manual be printed.

The Bureau is extremely interested in any information coming to the attention of the field concerning this project and all offices are instructed to maintain contact with logical sources and informants concerning its possible implementation. In this respect, arrangements should be made with established sources at logical industrial firms, particularly those where there are several hundred employees, where SDS members may desire to obtain jobs. Sufficient informant coverage should also be utilized at SDS National Conferences where such a project would logically be discussed and where plans could be made to set the project into actual being.

Any information received concerning this matter must be promptly submitted to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination.

MAILED 2 [illegible] 1969 COMM-FBI

100-439048-2662

- All Field Offices

WNP:lvh (9)

NOTE:

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 5/1/69, captioned as above, prepared by WNP:lvh.

51 MAY 14 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

100-439055-2063

CHANGED TO

100-454265-1

JUN 25 1963

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 2 1969
ENCIPHERED

WA 10 410PM EOM

URGENT 5-2-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR CODE

FROM CHICAGO (100-47554) 1P

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CIRCLE CAMPUS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY TWO, INSTANT; IS-M -STAG.

SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED TODAY SDS HELD RALLY, NOON, TODAY, TO PROTEST UNIVERSITY EXPANSION INTO LOW INCOME HOUSING AREA. APPROXIMATELY TWO FIVE DEMONSTRATORS AND ONE FIVE ZERO ON-LOOKERS PRESENT. DEMONSTRATORS UNABLE TO RALLY SUPPORT TO THEIR CAUSE, AND DID NOT ATTEMPT TO MARCH OR TAKE OVER ADMIN-ISTRATION BUILDING AS PLANNED. NO PLANS FOR FURTHER DEMONSTRA-TIONS AT THIS TIME. NO INCIDENTS; NO ARRESTS. USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE THIS DATE. SOURCE IS [redacted] [redacted] NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

REC 107

MAY 13 1969

WA 07 150PM EOM

URGENT 5-2-69 AFB

TO DIRECTOR (CODE)

FROM CHICAGO (100-44710)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

C. D. [illegible] B7C

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY TWO, INSTANT. IS-M, STAG.

SOURCE RELIABLE, ADVISED THAT SDS PLANS RALLY AT NOON TODAY, VICINITY UICC, TO ATTEMPT TO RALLY SUPPORT OF NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS. THEN PLAN MARCH TO ADMISISTRATION BUILDING, UICC, AND TAKE OVER BUILDING.

CAMPUS POLICE ALERT AND INTEND TO PREVENT TAKE OVER OF BUILDING. USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY, AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADVISED.

ADMNISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [redacted] B7D

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED. NO LHM BIENG SUBMITTED.

END

RMC

FBI WASH DC

100-[illegible]-2665

XEROX
MAY 8 1969

8 MAY 8 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

MR. WELLS
ROOM 902 9&D

70 MAY 13 1969

1 -

5/7/69

b7C

Airtel

SECRET

PERSONAL ATTENTION

To: SACs, Chicago (100-40903)
New York (100-148047)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

[redacted] b1 b3

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

Both offices promptly advise Bureau by appropriate communication of any pertinent information received in this matter.

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 SSM/JON
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

WHF:lvb
(6)

Para 1 + 2

REC 10 100-439048 - 2666

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAY 7 - 1969 COMM-FBI

MAY 8 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Chicago
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

SECRET

B1
B3

NOTE:

Both Dohrn and Halliwell are Key Activists. Dohrn is an SDS national officer and Halliwell has been active in national and New York regional SDS activities for several years.

SECRET

SECRET

100-439048 - 2566 p.3

1 - Mr. [redacted] B7C
5/9/69

Airtel

To: SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

SECRET

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re Bureau airtel 5/7/69.

[redacted] B1 B3

[redacted] B1

[redacted] B1 B3

FNP:lvh
(4)

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 SJM/Jan 2-10-75
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Pg 1 Para 1

SECRET

NOTE:

[redacted] B1

MAILED 2
MAY 9 - 1969
COMM-FBI

REC 44-114 100-439048-2[illegible]

19 MAY 9 1969

70 MAY 13 1969
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

4-528

100-434648- 8

CHANGED TO

100-447429- 10

JUN 25 1969

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 9 1969
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC

FBI [redacted] BAGO

[redacted] AM URGENT 5-9-69 DJS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND SPRINGFIELD

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), SOUTHERN ILLINOIS [redacted]
UNIVERSITY (SIU), REGIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY NINE-ELEVEN NEXT. IS-SDS.

RE SPRINGFIELD TEL MAY SEVEN LAST.

INFORMANTS COVERING CHICAGO REGIONAL OFFICE SDS ADVISE LES COLEMAN MAY ATTEND SIU CONFERENCE BUT THIS IS NOT CERTAINTY. SIU CONFERENCE HAS NOT BEEN TALKED UP BY CHICAGO REGION AND NO PLANS FOR SPECIFIC CHAPTERS IN CHICAGO AREA ARE KNOWN. FIVE PERSONS FROM NORTHERN ILL. UNIV. INCLUDING ONE JADE HERBERT (FEMALE) ARE SCHEDULED TO ATTEND CAPTIONED CONFERENCE. NO ADDITIONAL PLANS KNOWN BY CHICAGO INFORMANTS AT THIS TIME.

END

SLVXXSL3

FBI WASH DC

REC- 134

MAY 12 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

55 MAY 19 1969

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

349 PM URGENT 5-8-69 BCK

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND SPRINGFIELD (105-2739)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, SPEAK OUT, MAY EIGHT, ONE NINE SIX NINE; IS-SDS, VIDEM -STAG.

RE SPRINGFIELD TELETYPE, MAY TWO, LAST.

CHICAGO INFORMANTS CONTACTED AND ADVISED THEY HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF SPEAK OUT AT ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, NOR WERE THEY AWARE OF ANY SDS MEMBERS FROM THE CHICAGO REGION PLANNING TO ATTEND THIS SPEAK OUT.

END

ERT

FBI WASH DC

REC-64

MAY 12 1969

COPY FILED IN

MAY 19 1969

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 5/9/69

Transmit the following in ____________________ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL ____________________ (Priority)

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
6/9 - 15/69
IS - SDS

b7C

b1

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis (100-13087) (RM)
2 - Springfield (100-10202) (RM)
2 - Chicago
  1 - 100-47094

RRG/sjf
(8)

REC-125 100-439048-2171

EX-103

12 MAY 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

Approved: ____________________ Special Agent in Charge   Sent ________ M   Per ____________________

55 MAY 19 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

For the information of the Bureau the national leadership wants the NC to be held in the Midwest area believing that they will be able to control the proceedings in opposition to the Progressive Labor Party forces that will attend. Under no circumstances will the NO consider a site in the Eastern region because of the strength of PLP at the college and university chapters in the east. nor do they favor the West Coast because of the distances involved for the majority of members.

Minneapolis and Springfield are requested to follow this matter on a continuing basis. Chicago sources have been alerted to report the final determination of the national leadership.of SDS in this matter.

CONFIDENTIAL

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 12, 1969

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"New Left Notes," SDS weekly newspaper issue of May 1, 1969, states that this organization is currently looking for a location to hold its June 9-15, 1969, national convention. SDS National Headquarters desires this convention to be held at a Midwest school if possible with housing arrangements for up to 2,000 individuals.

The reason the national leadership wants this convention to be held in the Midwest area is that they believe they will be able to control the proceedings in opposition to Progressive Labor Party (PLP) sources that will attend. Under no circumstances will the national leadership consider a site in the east because of the strength of PLP in eastern chapters nor will they consider the west coast because of distance involved for majority of members.

We are closely following this matter and as soon as the site of the convention is established appropriate instructions will be issued to the field regarding its coverage.

ACTION:

For information.

100-439048

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

WNP:lvh
(7)

87C

REC-73

5 MAY 14 1969

66 MAY 20 1969

THOMAS M. PELLY
1ST DISTRICT
STATE OF WASHINGTON

SUITE 2211
RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES
SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
7004 FEDERAL OFFICE BLDG.
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, 98104

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

May 5, 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As a Congressman and as an American, I am gravely concerned over the recent disruptive activities of the Students for a Democratic Society on some of our Nation's colleges and universities. This group, to me, is aiming at the destruction of these institutions with no alternatives to what they label as their complaints.

Meanwhile, my question is, is there any indication that this group has any financial or other backing from the Communist Party of either the U.S.S.R. or Red China?

Any information you can provide would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Thomas M. Pelly
Representative in Congress

33 MAY 6 1969

EX. PROC.

2673

REC-24

17 MAY 6 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

MAY 21 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan   DATE: May 7, 1969

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - [redacted]

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY [redacted]

United States Congressman Thomas M. Pelly (R), Washington, in a letter to the Director dated May 5, 1969, which is attached, desired any information that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has received any financial or other backing from the Communist Party of either the Soviet Union or Red China.

Bureau files do not indicate there is any evidence of a direct subsidy of captioned organization by either the Communist Party, USA, or other "Old Left" groups. Furthermore, no information has been developed to date regarding any financing of SDS by the Soviet Union or Red China. Of course, there is always a possibility of financing of SDS by these two countries because of frequent travel abroad of SDS and other new left leaders.

OBSERVATIONS:

Congressman Pelly is on the Special Correspondents List. On November 6, 1968, the Director congratulated the Congressman on his re-election to Congress. In view of the nature of this inquiry, it is believed Congressman Pelly should orally be advised that we have no evidence of direct subsidy of SDS by the Communist Party, USA, or other "Old Left" groups and that there has been no information developed to date regarding any financing of SDS by the Soviet Union or Red China. He may also be advised that this possibility cannot be ruled out because of frequent travel abroad by SDS and other new left leaders. Furthermore, he may be advised that most of the funds received by SDS came from individual contributions of the $5 to $10 variety, fund drives and literature sales.

2674

MAY 14 1969

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-24

Congressman Pelly be orally advised by Crime Records Division of background information concerning his request along the lines set forth under observations.

Enclosure
100-439048

WNP (6)

55 MAY 21 1969

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 12 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 07 1056AM EOM

URGENT 5-12-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

REC-7

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS. [redacted] B7C

[redacted] CHICAGO PD, ADVISED TODAY HE WENT TO SDS HEADQUARTERS, ONE SIX ZERO EIGHT WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, AT TWELVE FORTYSEVEN AM TODAY ON COMPLAINT THAT A MAN WAS IN HEADQUARTERS WITH A GUN. MIKE KLONSKY NATIONAL SECRETARY, SDS ANSWERED DOOR AND STATED THERE WAS NO ONE THERE WITH A GUN WHEREUPON [redacted] LEFT. AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, CHICAGO FIRE DEPARTMENT PULLED UP IN FRONT OF SDS HEADQUARTERS ON REPORT THERE WAS A FIRE IN PREMISES. KLONSKY AND FOUR OTHERS REFUSED TO ADMIT FIRE DEPARTMENT AND SCUFFLE THEN OCCURRED BETWEEN FIRE DEPARTMENT, [redacted] AND HIS [redacted] AND FIVE INDIVIDUALS. WALTER "LES" COLEMAN STRUCK [redacted] IN EYE; HE IS BEING HELD ON BATTERY CHARGE. AT THIS POINT [redacted] AND [redacted] ARRESTED THE FIVE PERSONS, SUBSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED AS MIKE KLONSKY, WALTER COLEMAN, EDWARD JENNINGS, TIMOTHY MC CARTHY [redacted] FROM CHICAGO AND DAVID SLAVIN FROM NEW YORK CITY.

REC-7 ... - 2613

MAY 14 1969

B7C

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:
NY
MAY 12 1969

PAGE TWO

THOSE ARRESTED WERE CHARGED WITH INTERFERING WITH POLICE DEPT. AND FIRE DEPT. AND WITH BATTERY; TO APPEAR BRANCH TWENTYEIGHT COURT AM TODAY. [redacted] ADVISED SUBSEQUENT CHECK OF PREMISES BY FIRE DEPT. FAILED TO REFLECT ANY FIRE.. COMPLAINTS IN THIS MATTERS WERE MADE TELEPHONICALLY TO PD AND FIRE DEPARTMENT AND CALLER'S IDENTITY UNKNOWN.

b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE. REMYTEL TODAY.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

NSM R RELAY

FBI WASHDC

A TELETYPE

MAY 1[illegible] 1969

ENCIPHERED

WA 15 413PM EOM

URGENT 5-12-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT

[redacted] NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); IS-SDS.

[redacted] CHICAGO PD, ADVISED TODAY BOND IN VARYING AMOUNTS FROM FIVE HUNDRED TO FIFTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS WAS SET AND CASE CONTINUED TO JUNE SIX NEXT ON MICHAEL KLONSKY, EDWARD JENNINGS, WALTER COLEMAN, TIMOTHY P. MC CARTHY AND DAVID SLAVIN, ALL WHO WERE ARRESTED AT SDS NATIONAL OFFICE, THIS DATE. ABOUT TWO HUNDRED YOUTHS APPEARED IN BRANCH TWENTYEIGHT COURTROOM, ONE ZERO ZERO SOUTH RACINE, CHICAGO, DURING INITIAL HEARING, BUT NO DISTURBANCES RESULTED. KLONSKY, ETAL, RELEASED ON BOND.

ADMINISTRATIVE. REMYTELS TODAY. USA, SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY BEING ADVISED BY LHM WHICH FOLLOWS.

b7C

REC 37

END

MAY 14 1969

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[illegible] DE CG DI U REC MY 15 GA

RNK R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

60 MAY 2 1969

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 12 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
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Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 01 913AM EOM

URGENT 5-12-69 EOM

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

Internal Security

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), IS-SDS.

[redacted] CHICAGO PD, ADVISED FIVE PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED AT SDS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, ONE SIX ZERO EIGHT WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, AT ONE AM TODAY. THEY WERE MICHAEL KLONSKY, NATIONAL SECRETARY; WALTER "LES" COLEMAN, CHICAGO REGIONAL OFFICE; EDWARD J. JENNINGS, CHICAGO REGIONAL OFFICE; TIMOTHY P. MC CARTHY, NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF; AND DAVID SLAVIN, SDS, NEW YORK CITY. ARRESTS APPARENTLY OCCURRED WHEN ABOVE RESISTED EFFORTS OF FIREMEN TO INVESTIGATE REPORTED FIRE IN NATIONAL OFFICE. ARRESTED TO APPEAR BRANCH TWENTYEIGHT COURT AM TODAY. DETAILS TO FOLLOW.

END

100-439048-1677

REC-73

HWL R RELAY

MAY 14 1969

WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

NY

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC- MR. SULLIVAN MAY 23 1969

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

[illegible]PM URGENT 5-9-69 DJS

TO DIRECTOR AND ALBANY (100-20641)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

PROPOSED STUDENT DISTURBANCES, POTSDAM, NEW YORK, MAY NINE - TEN, SIXTY-NINE. IS - MISCELLANEOUS; SDS.

RE ALBANY TEL, MAY EIGHT, LAST.

SOURCES WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH SDS ACTIVITIES AT THE NATIONAL OFFICE AND REGIONAL OFFICE, CHICAGO, ADVISED THEY HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY SDS MEMBERS FROM CHICAGO TRAVELING TO POTSDAM TO CREATE DISTURBANCES.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC

4-312 (Rev. 1-10-62)

Date of Mail 5/15/69

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Students Afro-Am. Society - Inc

Subject JUNE MAIL

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File Number 100-439048-2679

Permanent Serial Charge Out

4-312 (Rev. 1-18-62)

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See File 66-2554-7530 for authority. Students For Democratic Society

Subject JUNE MAIL

99 MAY 23 1969

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File Number 100-43048-2680

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